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THE

FEDERAL POLITICIAN.

BY

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JAMES PH. PUGLIA,

TEACHER OF THE SPANISH AND ITALIAN LANGUAGES, AND AUTHOR OF THE SPANISH WORK, ENTITLED, "*EL DESENGAÑO DEL HOMBRE*, OR, *THE MAN UNDECEIVED*," &c. &c. &c.

EST MODUS IN REBUS SUNT CERTI DENIQUE FINES,
QUOS ULTRA CITRAQUE NEQUIT CONSISTERE RECTUM.
HORAT. SAT. I, PAG. 359.

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M DCC XCV.

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TO THE

Citizens of the United States of America.

FRIENDS, & BRETHREN,

ENCOURAGED by that philanthropy which characteriſes the American Freemen, I take the liberty to ſubmit to your patronage the following pages, which, from their object, I am emboldened to hope, will meet with your favourable reception. Federaliſm ſignifies *Unanimity*, and with my beſt endeavours to promote it, I truſt, that my claim to the character of one

one of your warmeſt votaries, will not be deemed an uſurpation.

From a conſideration that the contents of the Sixth Chapter concerning "*Political Societies, their object, ſyſtem, proceedings, &c.*" have but very little connection with the main object of the preſent work, the principles of which are far from being repugnant to the conſtitutional and inherent right in the people peaceably to aſſemble; and that whatever praiſe or cenſure the tranſactions of ſocieties may in ſome reſpect probably claim, it would rather diſtract than arreſt your attention; I have been induc-

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ed to ſet aſide its inſertion in order to avoid prolixity.

I am happy however in acknowledging, that in the courſe of theſe lucubrations I have been diveſted of either prejudice or partiality, and in point of cloſe arguments, I have purſued the ſtrict rules of logical reaſoning, as the beſt mode of diſtinguiſhing Right from Wrong. ¿ Who, then, will attack my Syſtem, but your foes, whoſe malevolence, on this occaſion, I ſhall impute to the expiring rage of conquered Anti-federaliſm? Let their poiſoned arrows be levelled at me from every quarter, they will find me

invulnerable,

invulnerable, as I wear the armour of TRUTH. Diſdaining their reſentment, I ſhall conſider your approbation, my Fellow-citizens, as my higheſt ambition.

I remain, with the moſt ſincere attachment;

Your affectionate
Friend and Brother,

James Ph. Puglia.

July 20th, 1795.

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ERRATA.

ERRATA.

The Reader is requeſted to correct the following:

Page.	Line.				
37,	23,	-	for diary,	- read	- daily.
51,	4,	-	·· ſceme,	—	- ſcheme.
72,	3, in the note,		·· England's,	—	- England.
—	7,	Ibid, -	·· nor, -	—	- not.
85,	3 & 4 in the note,		inalterable,	—	- unalterable.
89,	3,	- -	ſuch a thing,	—	- ſuch thing.
98,	4,	- -	than, -	—	- that.
114,	3 in the note,	-	Ths, -	—	- The.
116,	3 & 4,	-	deoiſive	—	- deciſive.
122,	9 & 10 in the note,		mplacable,	—	- implacable.
133,	7,	- - -	concludes,	—	- conclude.
139,	3,	- -	which uſed,	—	- which is uſed.
143,	19,	- -	prepoſition,	—	- propoſition.
148,	4,	- -	hand, -	—	- hands.
153,	11,	- -	riſe, -	—	- raiſe.
177,	7,	- -	to, -	—	- on.
185,	1,	- -	think it not worth,		think it worth
——	5,	- -	Creature, -	—	- Creatures.
197,	1,	- -	depends, -	—	- depend.

PREFACE.

EVERY man, intent on promoting the well-being of Society, muſt be reconciled to purſue ſo laudable an object without the hope of reward, as patriotiſm frequently receives but cold neglect, inſtead of public gratitude, for her beſt exertions: The nobleſt returns he will then expect for his good ſervices, muſt ariſe from the purity of his intentions, and the conſciouſneſs of having acted well, which to a great mind is ſuperior to the voice of eulogium, or the pomp of human oſtentation. Perſuaded, that truth cannot be conveyed without diſpleaſing ſome, (who muſt be acknowledged its profeſſed enemies) the firm patriot ſteers his unerring courſe, regardleſs of ſuch feeble adverſaries, whoſe puny efforts he treats with meritorious contempt, ad-

hering, as his political creed, to this glorious maxim: BE JUST, AND FEAR NOT.

2. The cenſures to which the Federal Government has been expoſed ſince its eſtabliſhment, and particularly after the formation of ſeveral enthuſiaſtic ſocieties, have from time to time filled the newſpapers of this Continent, and afforded ample matter for political diſcuſſion. The productions which were often uſhered to the public, engaged my ſerious attention, and their ſubjects (I ſhall venture to affirm) were ſeldom explained with temper, or defined with judgment. Whether this aſſertion reſult from my incapacity, or real matter of fact, I leave to candor to determine. Though I am no member of the law or the government, yet from my dignity as a citizen, and from my thirſt of human knowledge, I have an ambition to dip into a ſcience ſo intimately connected with the Conſtitution of the country, in which I reſide; on a ſuppoſition, that I have acquired by aſſiduity that information, which a man of moderate abilities

lities might have obtained, or even that competence of knowledge with which perſeverance may ſtore a mind even beneath mediocrity, my readers muſt conclude, that I enter on this work, not as an official character or lawyer, but as a ſober inquiſitive man, who purſues plain truth. They will diſcover with more eaſe and ſatisfaction the ſcope, object and proceedings of Government through the medium of Reaſon, than by winding through the labyrinth of conſtitutional formalities.

3. If the Latin proverb *(a)* which ſays, that *a man is known by his actions*, be allowed, I requeſt my reader will become acquainted with the MAN UNDECEIVED. *(b)* This will enable him to form a juſt idea of my political principles. Between that work and the preſent, there is a material difference. The former is written with ſome degree of pathos, the latter with temper.

(a) Ex operibus eorum cognoſcetis eos.

(b) A work in 12mo. againſt Deſpotiſm, written in ſpaniſh by this Author, publiſhed by Francis Bailey of this city, A. D. 1794.

temper. Circumſtances requiring energy in the one, and moderation in the other, my diſcerning readers will make the neceſſary diſtinction.

4. An ancient ſacred writer *(c)* obſerves that the author, or orator is to conſider, not only the ſubject he enters on, but the very place, time, and audience whom he addreſſes; it muſt be conceived, therefore, that the object of the *Man Undeceived* was to rouſe, as it were from a lethargy, an oppreſſed people, and encourage them to aſſume their natural dignity by their exertions to ſhake off the galling yoke of Deſpotiſm, it will appear very different from that of the *Federal Politician*, which is directed to the ſentiments of a free, and independent Nation. The former have no idea of the enjoyment of Liberty, and conſequently demand a true picture of their wretched ſituation, contraſted with the happineſs reſulting from emancipation: whereas

(c) D. Gregor. in proverb. 15. *Sapiens, non ſolum quid loquatur, ſed etiam oportunitatem loci, & temporis, & perſone quam loquitur, diligenter inquirit.*

whereas the latter are deeply impreſſed with a ſenſe of their rights and privileges in the free exerciſe of them. Thoſe muſt be ſtimulated to ſurmount every difficulty in the road to Independence by bold and manly ſentiments; theſe on the contrary, who are in the full poſſeſſion of it, require only to know how to enjoy its bleſſings unmoleſted, and render them more permanent and vigorous by perſeverance and unanimity. In ſhort, the doctrine, that might be uſeful to the Spaniards, Italians, Germans, or other vaſſals, would be but ill-adapted to the citizens of America.

5. However the *Man Undeceived* and *Federal Politician* may differ in ſtyle and language, they both tend to the ſame great purpoſe to promote the public Good, and may be compared to two travellers, who arrive at the ſame town by different roads. The principles to which I have been attached in the former work, ſtill guide me in the preſent. They remain unalterable, and as neither the allurements of proſperity, nor the ſtorm of adverſity have been able

able to overturn them, it cannot be expected, that the calm tenor of moderation can effect a change.

6. Truth is immutable, and ſhould be well received in whatever garb it appears. Under this impreſſion, I never rejected it though expreſſed by a man of ariſtocratic principles. Democratic frenzy and extravagance I equally deteſt as the obſtinacy, and oſtentation of an ariſtocrat. Both extremes degenerate into vice and injuſtice; it is therefore commendable to avoid, and abhor them. ¿ Would it not be a queſtion worthy of inveſtigation for the public weal to enquire: whether a deſpot, ariſtocrat, and democrat would not agree in ſentiments, if impartial Reaſon equally directed them all? If mankind were led by the laws of Nature, *(d)* there is no doubt but deſtructive wars would be no more, diſtinctions aboliſhed, and the world altogether become one, true and lovely Republic. ¡ What happineſs would mortals then enjoy in this terreſtial paradiſe, whoſe inhabitants

(d) Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.

habitants might indeed conſider death as an unwelcome obtruder on their earthly felicity, while man in the preſent ſcene of life, amidſt the anarchy of diſmembered ſtates and kingdoms, invites the grim monarch to cloſe the period of his wretched exiſtence!

7. Some will probably remark, that in this tranſitory life, mortals cannot expect to enjoy ſuch a plenitude of happineſs; however it appears to me as poſſible, as it is in human capacity to liſten to the voice of Reaſon, and be guided by her unerring admonitions. When I conſider, that ſuch a holy and marvellous union would be the reſult of exerciſing thoſe powers and faculties, with which man is diſtinguiſhed, I think it a *miracle* eaſily wrought, and chiefly depending on the performance of that natural duty, which the human being owes to his maker, and to himſelf. It is therefore to be lamented that mankind deviates ſo far from, or rather acts contrary to it: hence we muſt conclude,

conclude, that the practice of reaſon is in ſome degree certainly neglected.

8. Though I am confirmed in an opinion which I ſhall ever maintain, that deſpotic and ariſtocratic Governments have been raiſed on the ruins of humanity and juſtice, I cannot conclude that the proceedings of Democracy are always perfectly conſonant to our ideas of philanthropy, and moderation, particularly in the preſent ſtate of affairs. The main object, I confeſs, of a well regulated republican Government is the welfare of ſociety at large, but it is often endangered by the artifice of deſigning ambition, ſtruggling for authority amidſt the violence of revolution, and the tempeſt of war.

9. The Republic of France in her conteſt for Liberty, with a combination of deſpots (who have ſwelled the long catalogue of their enormities) has even recently produced an inſtance of aſpiring tyranny, which evinces my aſſertion to be juſt. ¿ Have not numbers of frenchmen already ſuffered under the guillotine ? and

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can it with candor be affirmed, they have all been guilty of the crimes aſcribed to them? ¿ Will prejudice even venture to ſay, that among five hundred who were ſhot at one period, there were not a few ſteady patriots, who on the very margin of diſſolution had their country's glory throbbing at their hearts? ¡ A difficult queſtion indeed, which muſt be defined in favour of revolutionary tribunals! as we are to ſuppoſe them infallible by their having pronounced ſo many ſentences, and all juſt.

10. I do not diſpute that a great part of the victims deſerved puniſhment; but ¿ can it be denied, upon a ſtrict and impartial enquiry, that ſeveral inoffenſive people were involved in the ſame ſcene of ſufferings with the guilty? Let thoſe unfortunate citizens who ſtained with innocent blood the apparatus of death, be ever ſo few, it can by no means juſtify the ſanguinary meaſures of Democracy, or ſanction the irregularities of their conduct.

11. I ſee no material difference between the defects of popular Government, and

thoſe of deſpotic; nor will any ſenſible man approve the one, while he execrates the other. The mere appellation of the forms of Government can have no weight in the ſcale of human judgment, whether it be a republican or monarchical. It is but a ſhadow compared to the ſubſtance, and diſtinguiſhing reaſon muſt diſcover where their perfections or imperfections be concealed, and draw the diſcriminating line between them.

12. Cool reflection will convince my reader, that the ſacred names of Liberty and Equality are frequently abuſed in the moment they ſeem highly revered; and it is a blaſphemy to mention them, when the proceedings of men only tend to proſtitute the important terms.

13. It has been often advanced, that deſperate diſeaſes require adequate remedies. For this reaſon, I conjecture, enthuſiaſtic patriots exult in the ſeverity and precipitance of puniſhments from an idea, that the moſt ſafe, and expeditious mode of rearing the temple of Democracy, is to cement

cement the walls of the fabric with human blood. If ſuch exceſſes be required in the cauſe of Liberty, I deem it a cruel requiſition. If the altar of Equality muſt be ſprinkled with the gore of innocent citizens mingled with that of his country's aſſaſſin, I conſider it a moſt barbarous worſhip. It is a ſtrange kind of doctrine that permits an evident evil, in order to promote good, or allows an injuſtice, becauſe its object is juſtice.

13. I flatter myſelf, I have written in Freedom's cauſe with as much zeal, at leaſt, as any patriotic writer, but I cannot approve this new kind of liberty. Humanity muſt ſhudder at the bare recital of ſuch violent meaſures, which compoſe a ſyſtem of Republicaniſm equally ſavage, as repugnant to the fundamental principles of true Democracy.

14. A free Government that formally acknowledges, and protects the equal rights of man, will never attempt to violate them in any degree, unleſs by a total change of its conſtitution. Exceſſes therefore committed

mitted under popular authority, of whatever complexion they be, counteract the unaffected ſpirit of patriotiſm, and originate in the clandeſtine uſurpations of ambitious leaders and deluding demagogues. It is the duty of a philoſopher to render conſpicuous the diſtinction that ariſes between the dignity of the maſter, and the unworthineſs of the ſervant, in order completely to reſtore the honour due to the former, while the baſe intentions of the latter are totally proſcribed.

15. The tumult of revolutions often gradually ſubſides, and indulgence muſt ſometimes be made for the ſtruggles, which may be neceſſary to the advancement of an infant Republic, when the paſſions and intereſt of corrupt individuals do not interfere with them. In ſuch a ſituation it is a ſound policy to keep alive the ſpirit of the People againſt the enemies of Democracy, and in proportion as the latter are diſcouraged, the rage of the revolutioniſt will be converted into the firmneſs of the patriot.

16. An

16. An honourable peace will undoubtedly put France into an enviable condition, equal, if not ſuperior, to that of ancient Rome. Her Government will then aſſume a reſpectable rank, which muſt neceſſarily diſtinguiſh the rulers from the ruled. The authority that now ſeems unſettled and fluctuating on account of the popular agitation, will become ſecure and permanent, and collect new vigour from the reſtoration of public affairs.

17. It is a folly to conceive that Democracy needs the influence of patriotic frenzy. The proper adminiſtration of ſuch a government requires peace, and ſubordination under the controul of reaſon, upon whoſe ſolid baſis laws are eſtabliſhed to inſpire affection, bind attachment, and create veneration. The collective body of the People conſtitute the ſovereign and legitimate power of Government, but their members individually conſidered, are ſubject to the direction of it. The acknowledgment of the origin does, by no means, enervate the claims of a Conſtitution, and

though

though it relies upon the will and ſupport of the Nation, the ſame Nation muſt chearfully ſubmit to its decrees, and regulations. This is the great criterion, by which an enlightened People muſt judge of ſecurity and happineſs, as it is a received maxim: that no Government can be well adminiſtered, or faithfully diſcharge the truſt of its conſtituents, without correcting popular extravagance, ſuppreſſing factions, and eſtabliſhing moderation throughout the community.

18. Theſe are the ſentiments which breathe through the preſent production, which I wiſh to be plainly underſtood by every individual, and impartially examined by the Public. To their united wiſdom and candour I ſubmit the inveſtigation of it, regardleſs of the cenſures of any party of critics, or private junto of men, whom (either prejudice or malevolence) might excite to cavil. Their ſtrictures on my ſyſtem I ſhall conſider as an attack againſt reaſon itſelf.

19. Finally,

19. Finally, ſhould theſe pages in the leaſt degree contribute to diſperſe the gloom of political errors, or tend to promote the advantage of my fellow-citizens, I ſhall deem it the moſt ample reward of my labours.

1 NO 61

THE

FEDERAL POLITICIAN.

CHAPTER I.

GOVERNMENT—ITS ORIGIN, PROGRESS, *&c. &c. &c.*

PHILOSOPHY is the ſpirit of politics, as Geometry is of architecture. It impartially examines any abſtract, real, theoretic, or practical notion by the balance of Reaſon, always aiming at the diſcovery and knowledge of cauſes, together with the conſequent derivation of their effects. It is the ſource of philanthropy, the teacher of the Rights of man, and the true crite-

rion of a private as well as public character. ¡ How carefully were the tenets of this laudable ſcience followed by ſtateſmen of antiquity, and how neglected do they ſeem to be in this century!

2. All Governments in their beginnings were eſtabliſhed on philoſophical principles, and they went on ſucceſsfully while the purity of the inſtitution was diligently preſerved; but as human weakneſs is ſubject to many abuſes, virtuous legiſlators were ſucceeded by corrupt leaders, hence the baſis being neglected, the uſeful Fabric was expoſed to ruin and decay. To this misfortune muſt be attributed the political changes, experienced in many different æras, of which ancient hiſtory affords us a melancholy recital.

3. Government, conſidered in an extenſive point of view, comprehends a meaning as vague as it is various. It can be applied to the rational, irrational, vegetable and inanimate Creation. Nature, our grand parent, plainly unfolds to our underſtanding that all the movements, revolutions

lutions and tranſmutation of bodies, are nothing but a continual circle of government; it might, therefore, be conjectured in this caſe that Government derives its origin from Nature: but as in the preſent undertaking, politics muſt take the lead of phyſical inveſtigation, I ſhall devote my whole attention to that Government peculiar to man, whoſe noble underſtanding, elevated above and diſtinguiſhed from all other creatures, is alone ſuſceptible of perſeverance, application, decorum and order. I muſt however obſerve, that the condition of man as an *individual*, eſſentially differs from that in which he ranks as a *member of Society*. In either caſe he is bound by reſpective duties, which admit a diſtinct performance, and will of courſe be as different as the conſequences reſulting from them be more or leſs important.

4. Whereas Government is nothing but an orderly *execution* of rules, it ſeems proper to enquire with what views has Man eſtabliſhed them, and how ſuch views came into his mind. It is an indubitable fact,

that

that Man from his natural diſpoſition will preſer Good to Evil, if he diſtinguiſhes one from the other, and his choice be free and uninterrupted; of courſe what he prefers will be good, or at leaſt taken by him to be ſuch. From the *choice*, immediately ariſes the *rule*, which directs him to follow the ſame exertions and ſatisfactory purſuits in any ſucceeding ſimilar circumſtances. Rule is in itſelf a mere precaution, which ſeeks ſucceſs; and as ſuch a precaution is occaſioned by a precious knowledge of what can either impede or favour that ſucceſs; it ſeems then that Rule is the combined reſult of compariſon, judgment and reſolution. That theſe three mental Qualities conſtitute the tribunal of human reaſon, is very evident; Reaſon of courſe is the foundation of rules; and as Government is an orderly execution of them (as before mentioned); conſequently Reaſon in like manner muſt be the baſis of Government. Both are equally ancient, becauſe either implies the ſame thing. Government is a continual reaſoning, and Reaſoning

ſoning a continual government. Upon this ground, if we trace the matter a little farther back, we muſt conclude that Government had its origin from the creation of Man, becauſe Reaſon was the immediate prerogative, with which his exiſtence was diſtinguiſhed.

5. As the ſituation of our firſt Father was rather ſolitary, his reaſon was adapted to the ſimplicity of his government, and thus Reaſon on its travels accommodates itſelf to the circumſtances of every individual. Every man naturally owes certain duties to himſelf. Nature has imprinted on his mind a ſtrong ſenſe of his own ſafety, perſonal exiſtence, and whatever concerns it. He values health, and endeavors to avoid the probable cauſes of ſickneſs. He ſhuns danger, and ſeeks preſervation. Whether young or old, ſingle or married, poor or rich, he aims conſtantly at gratification, propagation and improvement.

6. The ſoul follows at the ſame time another career. The underſtanding of Man whether limited or extenſive, reprobates

bates injuſtice, oppreſſion, meanneſs, fraud and crimes, while it extols uprightneſs, moderation, generoſity, ſincerity and innocence. Man is a jealous guardian of his honour, and endeavours to improve his mind with every poſſible information. His wiſhes are very remote from remaining in a ſtate of ignorance. Even in ſuch a ſtate, he does not ſuppoſe himſelf ignorant; nay, if his confined abilities are put to trial, he will uſe every art to diſguiſe his mental deficiency, and in ſuch endeavours I can diſcover in him ſome degree of wiſdom.

7. All the exertions of corporal, and ſpiritual faculties neceſſarily imply duties, rules and performance; they form of courſe the government of a ſequeſtered *individual.*

8. In conſidering the Government, which is peculiar to Man as a *member of Society*, I ſee it following much the ſame courſe of the preceding, with this difference, that it is more extenſive in proportion as ſuch a member is connected, as it were by a link in the chain of the Community. If he is not confined to any public ſphere of buſineſs,

buſineſs, he acknowledges particular duties to the Neighbourhood and Country, in which he reſides. The Laws of Nations, of his Country, and the Regulations adopted by his fellow-citizens, claim his particular attention, inaſmuch as he is concerned in the obſervance of them, and reſponſible for his conduct in the neglect of them. As ſoon as the character of our *member* becomes known, and Society points him out for ſome important buſineſs, there are other duties which come under his notice. He muſt not only attend to his private, but alſo to the public Government. He muſt not only obſerve, but he muſt alſo enact ſound wholeſome laws. He is entruſted with the public confidence, of courſe he is accountable for the public welfare. The Nation loudly declares to him, that all his exertions are wanted, that his exiſtenee is uſeful, and his own private buſineſs muſt give place to hers. Good God to what hardſhip, and complicated labour is a ſtateſman ſubject! yet ſuch is the condition of a public man,

and

and if his talents have raiſed him to ſuch ſituation, let his exertions be active and his conduct faithful.

9. Having thus ſtated the particular ſtations of Man, 1ſt. as a private *individual*, and 2dly. as a *member of Society*, I ſhall proceed to treat on the political Government of Mankind. All Nations differ in it inaſmuch as they are more or leſs enlightened, and their ſituations and diſpoſitions are various. Some have adopted and continue their ſubmiſſion to Monarchy and Ariſtocracy, others on the contrary had the ſpirit to take up the Democratic form. As I hate tyranny, I acknowledge my real averſion to the former (which I ſhall paſs over in ſilence) while the latter (on which I ſhall expatiate as beſt adapted to federal politics) attracts my ſincere reſpect for its maintaining the Equality of human rights and protection.

10. On my firſt information of *national* Government, I have been told that Society had eſtabliſhed it, but as Society was not created at once, ſo Government muſt have been

been introduced by degrees. As by Society is ſignified a collection of men acting as a Body, we cannot form any idea of the firſt Aſſembly of mankind, without admitting a previous ſeparation or want of connection in the different individuals, who afterwards compoſed it; and as in order to unite the ſcattered parts into one entire ſyſtem, they muſt be equally cautioned and encouraged, it ſeems very proper to explore in what manner ſuch an aſſembly was formed, by contemplating the views, which diſpoſed ſolitary men to become ſocial.

11. Nature having given to every living creature a particular attachment to its own ſpecies, ſuch an inſtinct in animals was alſo diſcovered in man, with this difference, that the latter perceived by underſtanding what the former was directed to by that very impulſe. It is certain that the early age of mankind was quite deſtitute of that education and literature, which the ſucceeding generations have happily acquired; but as reaſon was then as much in exiſtence as in the preſent period, ſolitary man had the ſame

power of improving his circumſtances, as we have in this refined age of gradually advancing in the arts and ſciences. I will allow, that man's information in his primeval ſtate, was very limited, but his wants at the ſame time were very preſſing; and as neceſſity is the parent of that invention, which gives riſe to improvement and ſucceſs; the ſame neceſſity, therefore, preſented him every opportunity, which his reaſon and ſituation were capable of embracing.

12. Man being placed upon earth as the Lord of the creation, and deſtined for the happineſs and enjoyments it afforded, the animals became his vaſſals. Quadrupeds ſhewed an humble ſubmiſſion to their maſter with fear and tameneſs, while the feathered tribe complimented him with joyful ſongs. Trees and vegetables invited him to taſte their fruitful offerings, and the ſoil, as if proud of its terreſtrial ſovereign, paid him every homage, by preſenting to his views a plentiful production. His ſuperiority being acknowledged by the different

different elements, nothing but his will, or rather his exertions could adapt him to the enjoyment of the whole. I am of opinion, that man would never have become carnivorous, if he had been induſtrious, eſpecially when his generation was rapidly increaſing. The more numerous his family became, the more his cares multiplied. Future fathers looked to the ſupport of their children, and in taſting the fleſh of lifeleſs animals, the palate was gratified with an agreeable flavour. The continuance of pleaſure being the natural wiſh and deſign of man, when they did not find dead animals, they tried to kill living ones. We now perceive that the firſt employment, or amuſement (which ever you pleaſe to term it) of the antients, was that of hunting.

13. One day proving more ſucceſsful than another, added encouragement to their purſuits, and being loaded with an abundance of prey, they conſider that a place to keep it in, was much wanted. They lodge it in holes, which proving too confined and

and narrow, deeper and wider ſpaces were deemed neceſſary. Here men began to enlarge their ideas, and relying on their future ſucceſs, they dug caverns wherein the ſtock on hands and any future acquiſition, might remain in ſafety. As extraordinary labour required adequate reſt, they occupied a part of their caverns as a kind of habitation, deemed more comfortable than the ſhelter of trees and buſhes. Thus ſituated, the hunting buſineſs was more amply contemplated by them, in order to render it more ſucceſsful. Their offenſive weapons were altered and improved; and as thoſe who diſplayed more ſkill in manufacturing them, became more uſeful by working at home, than by following their companions in the deſerts, a ſhare of the ſpoil was allowed them for making and preparing arrows, &c. In this way the induſtry of a man had began to be mutually rewarded, and a kind of profeſſion ſprung up.

14. Some of them perceiving, that ſeveral ſpecies of animals were of ſuch a tame

tame nature as to be conſidered objects of advantage, devoted their attention to the care of them. Flocks and herds, which at that time, perhaps, were far from numerous, gradually multiplied, and their numbers in time enriched the proprietors. ¡ What an advantage to ſhepherds to have a growing increaſe of freſh food to ſupply their wants, without being under the neceſſity of going through the hardſhips of the chace! Their ſituation was evidently more calm and eaſy than that of the former, and on this account many followed that way of life.

15. Beſides the ſubſiſtence, which thoſe tame animals offered them at the expence of their lives, other additional benefits were alſo enjoyed. The inclemency of the weather announced the want of covering, and the ſkins of animals on ſuch an occaſion being found extremely uſeful, the ſhepherds began to clothe themſelves. A calf being killed for diary food, the cow continued to give milk which being nouriſhing to her ſpecies, was thought equal-

ly

ly nutritious to mankind, and adopted as a reſource in time of ſcarcity. This plan became the more flattering the more man was enabled to ſupply his neceſſities, but an aſſemblage of new cares and labours was added to it. Man was obliged to provide for the animals, as well as for himſelf and family. He obſerved that in the ſummer the ground furniſhed plenty of food for the flocks and herds, but the winter on its approach deſtroyed every thing, and nothing remained on the earth's ſurface; he therefore turned his thought to reaping and ſaving the harveſt for his live ſtock, becauſe by the ſupport of which his own exiſtence was ſecured.

16. The abundant productions of the ſoil in the revolving ſeaſons, awakened new ſpeculations. It inſinuated to man that it was not naturally ungrateful, and that, if exertions were beſtowed on it, it would generouſly reward them. Conſidering the hardſhips to which man was expoſed as a hunter, and as a ſhepherd; the neceſſities of his flock; the change of ſeaſons; and the

ſcarcity

ſcarcity of food; it can eaſily be conjectured that all theſe circumſtances gave him experience enough to improve on the dumb, but beneficial offers of Nature. He applied himſelf to the cultivation of the land, and indeed it was ſuch a ſucceſsful profeſſion as to embolden his enterpriſing adventures.

17. Thus the human being explored the ſoil, and on his becoming acquainted with it, he began to taſte enjoyment. The dampneſs of a ſubterranean habitation proving unwholeſome to himſelf and family, as well as pernicious in ſome degree to his ſtore of proviſions, he then thought it more convenient to build a pleaſant hut of branches and buſhes, which grew wild upon the boſom of the ground. The rainy weather obliged him to cover it, the wind to ſtop its chaſms, and the winter to repair it in the beſt manner poſſible. Other families followed this mode of building, and each gradually improved it. Huts were transformed into cottages, and cottages into houſes.

18. It

18. It can be naturally conceived that families were ſcattered throughout the earth on account of their finding better paſtures, and perhaps more agreeable places of reſidence; but as the ties of kindred and intereſt, are ſufficient inducements to create a ſocial intercourſe, ſome were inclined to form an union, or at leaſt to live near each other. The natural wants of man, conſtrains him to be uſeful to others inaſmuch as others prove ſo to him; a great many of courſe were convinced, that ſocial offices would promote their private views, and help to ſupply their wants. A neighbourhood was firſt formed by the farmers, and from a neighbourhood grew a village. Population increaſing and improving at the ſame time their huſbandry, while proſperity crowned their induſtry, Society appeared in a grand, though infant, ſtate.

19. Families already differed in diſpoſition, in proportion as the degrees of kindred were removed, and as bad neighbours were ſometimes found among good, a deviation from ſimplicity was already diſcovered

vered in the community. Old men, wiſe from experience, and worn out from hardſhip, wiſhed for reſt and tranquillity. Some depredations were committed, which proved too injurious to the whole, not to be thought an important concern. The ſuppreſſion of ſuch evils was aimed at by the ſuffering individuals, together with the ſpectators, each of whom engaged in it. Man is very jealous and cautious in preſerving his peace and intereſt, and ſeeking his advancement, when any raſh attempt is made on them.

20. A private council takes place among the venerable elders, and as a good man eaſily acknowledges his equality with another, the conſultation as well as the advice and ſanction of the abſent neighbours, was deemed proper and neceſſary. The convening of a meeting was finally reſolved upon, and all being ſummoned for the purpoſe, they attended. The Aſſembly entered on buſineſs, by attending to a confuſed catalogue of propoſitions. As they were all guided in their meeting

by a private, and, at the ſame time, a common intereſt, their reſpective opinions, though various, tended to the ſame uſeful object. A judicious obſervation was interrupted by an ignorant remark. In ſhort every one moved, objected, and propoſed amendments. From the variety and confuſion of ſo many queſtions and debates, we muſt ſuppoſe that order did not prevail in that ſeſſion with modern decorum; yet reſolutions were at laſt adopted. The *general* will becoming thus known and fixed, laws were introduced, and as the majority binds the minority, all pledged themſelves to adhere to their decrees, the ſocial compact derived energy, and Mankind became in the firſt inſtance connected.

21. At this period my reader will diſcover, that the ſons of men began to acknowledge a ſocial Government, which is commonly termed *political*, and which ſprung from Democracy. The neceſſitous purſuits of hunters, as well as the diſunited ſituation of ſhepherds, were ill adapted to ſuch a happy and uſeful origin. The farmers

farmers only were beſt calculated to introduce good conduct, method and regulations among mankind. By their induſtry and application, they made a wonderful progreſs in the infant arts of civilization, and nothing but their love, and order could encourage them to make ſuch ſtrides at improvement.

22. The laws of that early age, totally unacquainted with ambition and corruption, were certainly reaſonable and rendered ſacred by the immaculate ſeal of innocence. The unaffected object of their government, was to protect every individual in his perſon and property, to promote mutual affection and peace, to encourage induſtry, and finally to lead man into the paths of virtue, in order that he ſhould be uſeful to himſelf and to Society. Were politics continued on ſuch principles, their progreſs would have been ſucceſsful and conſtant till the preſent period; but alas! What changes, revolutions, and calamities have befallen the ſons of man! It appears as if ſucceeding generations acquired vigour

vigour and reſpectability, in order to abuſe it. Innocence became inſenſibly eclipſed by an inclination to vice, candor by hypocriſy, and humility by pride.

23. Democracy the only government invented by, and congenial to the human underſtanding, was inſtituted before corruption was underſtood. Its origin was clear, but its ſtream did not continue to flow with uninterrupted tranſparency. What was intended for the common good, individuals entruſted with it, deſigned to apportion it to their own private intereſt. The able orator gained the confidence and applauſe of his hearers, and he had not long been inveſted with ſome degree of authority, before he aſpired to a ſuperior ſtation. A ſelfiſh pride inclined him to think himſelf a man of great conſequence, and that his wiſdom was abſolutely neceſſary to Society. Swelled with ſuch a vain opinion of his own abilities, he began to uſurp what before he humbly ſolicited. Envy and jealouſy were ſoon kindled in the boſom of others, poſſeſſed of a ſimilar domineering

neering ſpirit, and his aggrandizement was in a deciſive manner oppoſed. One rival made open reſiſtance to the other, and both ſeeking adherents, gave birth to factions. As the view of parties is in the firſt place to deſtroy their opponents, and ſecondly, to gratify their ambition, by the appointment or rather promotion of their own favorites, the Public Weal in the mean time becomes neglected, and of courſe Democracy ſhortly ceaſes to exiſt. The term *Commonwealth* is transformed from the ſubſtance to the ſhadow, and becomes a mere name. ¿What does Ariſtocracy mean but certain Parties impoſing on the community, or juntos of proud impoſtors giving laws to a Nation? Did any kind of ſound Democracy exiſt in France while Marat, Briſſot, Danton, and Roberſpiere continued their factious intrigues, each detracting and ſtruggling to overturn one another? I think not; becauſe it is evident to me, that nothing but an oſtentatious ſhew of republicaniſm, was at that time impoſed upon the french people, under the diſ-

guiſed

guiſed appearance of ſupporting and ſecuring their liberties. Deſpotiſm could not be more dangerous to its vaſſals, than thoſe pretended citizens were to their conſtituents.

24. From Democracy down to Ariſtocracy, and from thence to Deſpotiſm, there is a gradual degeneracy much in the ſame way as from Innocence to the firſt degree of Vice, and from thence to the deep and horrible regions of Iniquity. Through ſuch corrupted channels, popular ſpeakers became leaders, leaders became dictators, and dictators aſſumed ſovereignty, deſpotiſm and tyranny. There never was an alteration or change in political Government, that was not occaſioned by extravagance and corruption. From its inſtitution down to the reign of Deſpotiſm, human rights whether natural, moral or religious, have been violated. Man impoſed upon man, not as a rational being, but as a brute; and his excellence was degraded by the proſtitution of his honor, privileges and reaſon to the will or caprice of a ruffian.

25. A

25. A criminal flying from juſtice, became a highwayman. Others equally diſpoſed, and refractory joined him. Succeſsful adventures made him the head of a party. The plundering of cottages and farms, animated his rapacious ideas, and encouraged him to attempt pillaging a neighbourhood, which was ſoon executed. Emboldened by the ſucceſs of his enterpriſes he compelled peaceable inhabitants to take up arms under his banners, and thus ſtrengthened with additional forces, he reduced villages, conquered towns, and vanquiſhed nations. ¡ Behold now a reſolute and determined robber, transformed into a valiant and mighty general, even into a lord, a prince, a king!

26. The grandeur, however, of a throne and a ſceptre, did by no means ſecure the poſſeſſion of its dignity. Another adventurer with equal credentials, dethroned him, and the latter was ſucceeded by others as infamous as himſelf. Deſpotiſm (as antient hiſtories relate) was in a continual ſtate of fluctuation, and ſhaken from time

to

to time with violent convulſions. A Government eſtabliſhed on violence and injuſtice, could never be ſteadily conducted. It was always the nurſery of intriguing men, flattered the ſpeculations of the moſt powerful, and favored the projects of the moſt deſigning. Mankind muſt ever lament and deſpiſe ſuch fineſſe and gaſconading. It has been obſerved by all ages, that monarchy reared its edifice on the ruins and deſolation, occaſioned by waſting wars; that millions were oppreſſed to contribute to the inſupportable felicity and dazzling exaltation of one; and that none but a cruel and ambitious ruffian, would be inclined to take an advantage of his fellow-creatures. A crown was invented to diſtinguiſh the excellence of the mighty champion, but if the intrinſic merit of his actions were known, a rope to ſurround his neck, would have been the moſt ſignal badge to mark his elevation. ¡ Of what folly or rather cowardice, were men guilty in worſhipping realms! The crown of a king demands from the tyranny of its owner

owner as much honor, as the figure of a gallows; and for my part, I deſpiſe the emblems of Royalty on either the ſpaniſh or engliſh coin, in as great a degree as my neceſſity obliges me to value the bare metal.

27. The laws of Nature prevailing in thoſe early ages, prevented kings from adopting this ſingular expreſſion: *by the grace of God*, though they muſt have conſidered themſelves equally authoriſed to uſe it as the preſent monarchs. Kingdoms changed their ſovereigns, but not their vices. They were a conſtant inheritance from an uſurper to his baſtard, and from his baſtard to a tyrant. How could morality exiſt by examples of this kind!

28. The reign of the laws of Nature was nearly at a period, when Religion was introduced. Its intention was that of improving the morals of the people, but this edifying ſchool, was transformed into an Empire, and pious admonition aſſumed the tone of Authority. Moſes was the firſt agent in this ſacred embaſſy, and by intro-

ducing the *written Laws*, he reformed or rather aboliſhed the ſyſtem of Nature. No ſooner had he reſcued the Iſraelites from egyptian bondage, than he compelled them to follow his doctrine. The tremendous ſlaughter he made among his people, is a clear inſtance of his domineering authority over that freedom, which they began to diſplay in point of religion. We are informed, that there were prophets before and after the time of Moſes, with this difference, that the former were not ſo numerous as the latter. There is no doubt, but their prophetic ability or rather profeſſion, attracted followers the more its influence gained credit, and ſuch was its aſcendance over the credulity of thoſe ages, that prophets became as powerful in the ſpiritual juriſdiction, as chiefs and kings tyrannical. To this may be aſcribed the early *union* of *political*, and *religious* Governments.

29. It was very natural for two different powers directed to the ſame object, to become

come friends and ſupporters of each other. Their reſpective reliance being founded on the ignorance and puſillanimity of the people, it appeared that the ſceme of their conjunction was happily contrived. Kings bribed prophets, and prophets were always preaching up the anointment of kings, the inviolability of their perſons, and even the infallibility of their laws. Court and Church thus united, their ſpeculation went on ſucceſsfully at the expence of the people. ¿ Why did the Monarchy of Spain inſtitute the tribunal of Inquiſition ? becauſe the exiſtence of the Crown gained an important advantage from ſuch a project. *(a)* There is (I am perſuaded from my own knowledge) no Government among the europeans ſo ſtupid as that of Spain, yet her ambition and intereſted views, proved her pre-eminent ſagacity over the reſt in her PIOUS attachment to the Church.

30. It

(a) See *el Deſangano del Hombre*, Chap. III, § 9 and 10.

30. It has ever been the policy of tyrants to enſlave mankind in the fetters of ſuperſtition, by which their temporal authority gains more ſtrength and ſtability. All thoſe Nations, which have groaned under ſuch a yoke, were regulated by injuſtice rather than laws; can the well informed reader now ſuppoſe, that Monarchies had been, or are ſupported by true Government? For my part, I think that no ſuch thing exiſted ever ſince its firſt change. Government ceaſed to exiſt from the moment, that its pure principles were violated. To ſay that mankind were regulated by it, ſince the inſtitution of kingdoms, is much the ſame as to advance, that oppreſſion is juſtice, that a villain is an honeſt man, and that wrong is right, which is evidently erroneous.

31. The preſent century will, from beginning to end, tranſmit to poſterity the moſt curious and wonderful adventures, that were ever before handed down. Liberty has awakened mankind from a long

continued

continued lethargy, to the enjoyment of happineſs. This charming goddeſs is now beginning to found her empire in the admiration, love and ſupport of mankind. ¿ Who can overturn it, while man is capable of judging for himſelf, through the medium of Reaſon, and of being a jealous vindicator of his natural Rights? Let every ignorant ſlave be informed, that Liberty alone has the power of teaching man, what he is, and how he muſt act in Society. The myſteries of uſurpers and tyrants, begin to be diſcloſed, the public knowing already that the iniquity of courts is arrived to an extremity, which indicates its imminent ſuppreſſion. Every body acquainted with the hiſtory of the preſent century, will reprobate the jealouſy of Auſtria, the convulſions of Spain (on account of the royal line being extinguiſhed) the pride of Ruſſia, the extravagance of the Houſe of Bourbon, the diſturbances in Italy, the diſmemberment of Poland; all which have been the dreadful cauſes of human diſtreſſes. It is, however, a great conſolation

conſolation to mankind to foreſee, that the cloſe of this century, will in all probability amply compenſate for the calamities, which its commencement has introduced, and its continuation involved us in.

32. Alarming intrigues, notwithſtanding, yet appear in the horizon of our happineſs. We can diſcover rational beings ſtill cruelly determined to annihilate rational beings, ſlaves to conquer freemen, and injuſtice to trample on the rights of man. We ſee commerce impeded, agriculture neglected, manufactures deſtroyed, and anarchy pervade almoſt every corner of the civilized globe. ¿ What is the cauſe of all this, or rather, who is the mortal enemy of mankind ? I will tell you, my reader, in the following ſhort catalogue. His *ſacred* majeſty the Emperor of the Romans ; his Catholic majeſty the King of Spain ; his moſt *ſober* majeſty the gracious George, King of Great-Britain, Defender of the faith ; her moſt *virgin*, and *chaſte* majeſty the Empreſs of Ruſſia ; his moſt *diſintereſted*, and *liberal* majeſty the King

King of Pruſſia; and ſeveral other gentlemen and ladies, who *by the grace of God* endeavour to diſturb the peace of Nations. One is actuated by revenge, another by his apprehenſions of the abolition of deſpotiſm; England by the ſelfiſh motives of draining the ſources of the nation; Pruſſia by the cruel traffic of ſelling human fleſh; and Ruſſia by her immoderate ambition of aggrandizement, to ſend their hireling dogs to bark at freemen, and at length to be devoured by the Lions of Liberty. Here is a conciſe detail of the actual circumſtances of the civilized european World, and ¿ what are we to think the conſequences will be? Not dreadful, I ſhould ſuppoſe, to the Parnaſſus of Freedom; nay! the more it is oppoſed, the more determined its reſiſtance, the more cemented its union, and the more ſhining its ſplendor. When virtue is exalted and vice humbled, the face of human nature begins to wear a favorable aſpect.

33. ¡ May I live to ſee the Rights of the people encircle the throne of real Sovereignty,

reignty, and become the Idol of all civilized Nations! I expect in my time (and in a period not remote) to participate in the general and approaching happineſs. I am perfectly convinced, that all ariſtocratic and tyrannical Governments are coming to an end. Whether the happy criſis will be completed within the compaſs of my life or after, he only can determine who can pierce into futurity; at any rate, I ſhould rejoice, even in my laſt moments, in the all-cheering hope of ſuch a glorious event.

34. After many centuries of ſlavery, it was time that mankind ſhould riſe from their lethargy, when America oppoſed and conquered the britiſh tyranny. France followed the example, and on the eſtabliſhment of her own liberty, the general abolition of ſlavery may with ſome confidence be expected. Theſe wonderful revolutions have originated in the ſpirit of humanity, and were carried on by the exertions of human intrepidity; and ſucceſs

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in all likelihood will crown their labors, as juſtice protects their cauſe.

35. Both Republics acknowledge the Rights of Man, yet I perceive ſome difference between them. I know that there is only one real Democracy, equal and perfect; therefore no difference can reſult from the *ſyſtem* but may from the *execution*. Whether the American Adminiſtration be better than the French, or *vice verſa*, it is not my province to determine. I am very far from preſuming to leſſen the merits of any community whatſoever in their peculiar mode of government. The riſing nations on the globe are beſt acquainted with their own particular wants, reſources and intereſt; let them, therefore, adopt thoſe principles moſt agreeable to them. For my knowledge of the politics of this country, I admire its Government in all its arrangements, and regulations, as being the beſt which an enlightened people could admit for the preſervation of genuine Democracy.

36. Finally, let any Government, eſtabliſhed for the benefit of Society, undergo thoſe modifications, which human abilities and experience may occaſionally introduce, if it acknowledges and ſcrupulouſly conforms to its origin, there is no doubt but it will be juſt in its fundamentals, and durable in its progreſs.

CHAPTER

CHAP. II.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT——ITS ESTABLISHMENT, ENERGY, EXCELLENCE, *&c. &c.*

NOTWITHSTANDING all the dreadful changes, which political Government has ſuffered ever ſince it was introduced among Mankind, the knowledge of its origin, and proper form was never aboliſhed. Amidſt the uſurpations of robbers and tyrants, the world abounded with impartial philoſophers, intrepid patriots, and benevolent citizens. Their exemplary inſtruction was impeded in its courſe by occaſional oppreſſion, but their memoirs and writings, notwithſtanding every difficulty, were preſerved from ruin. Every age improved on the refinement of each other, and if one had not the ſatisfaction to enjoy it completely, another benefited by the fruits of its acquiſition and labours.

labours. By this, it can be eaſily perceived that Democracy, in point of antiquity, was antecedent to all kinds of government; that though publicly oppreſſed, it was privately preſerved, and if in this preſent century it has ſhone forth in its priſtine luſtre, it is owing to the information handed down to us by our anceſtors. Some politicians who deprecated the recent introduction of Democracy, as newly invented by diſſolution and immorality, were either quite miſtaken or corrupted. It is impoſſible to invent what has been already invented, and if there be any ſtrange novelty in its regeneration, it muſt be that of eſtabliſhing the *old* Democracy on the ruins of the *late* Ariſtocracy and Deſpotiſm. In theſe laſt centuries, the prevailing mode was that of introducing extravagancies, but in the preſent æra, our taſte directs us to renew and improve the old faſhion, and I believe mankind on this account will be happier than ever.

2. That a ſingle Republic ſhould govern itſelf for a long and ſucceſsful period of

of time, is not wonderful. Athens in antient times, and Venice as well as Genoa in the preſent age, are the moſt conſpicuous in that time; but that Republics ſhould collect themſelves, and eſtabliſh a general Government over them, demands a more particular attention. The union of the Swiſs Cantons, encouraged Holland to follow the ſame plan, and thus a new improved ſyſtem of Republicaniſm was inſtituted. It is to be lamented, that theſe two european Confederations were rather devoted to ſtrengthen Ariſtocracy, than the common and public intereſt. The commonwealth of Switzerland is a mixture of Democratic and Ariſtocratic Republics, and has adopted a kind of Government, which is quite imperfect in its arrangements, and ſuſceptible of the moſt abominable abuſes. The information that I am poſſeſſed of with reſpect to thoſe countries, *(a)* enables me to aſſert, that even

(a) John Dominick, the father of the Author is a native of Blenio in the juriſdiction of the three Swiſs Cantons,

even their Democracy is nothing but a mere ſhadow. As to Holland, conſidered in its late ſtate of Government, it is uſeleſs to take any notice of the notorious extortions committed by that inquiſitive Ariſtocracy, and it is owing to the merciful providence of Heaven as well as to the courage of french Freemen, that it is now at an end.

3. How corrupt the two aforeſaid Confederations ſeem to a patriotic politician, yet he muſt allow that the plan of their Government was greatly enlarged; and how induſtrious mankind have been in the abuſe of their own improvements, is very ſurpriſing.

tons, *Uri*, *Switz*, and *Underwalden*, and ſo were his anceſtors (200 years back or thereabouts, according to tradition) who have filled at different periods ſome of the important offices of that Government. It has ever been the inclination of his father to make his ſons travel for inſtruction, and with his brothers, the Author has participated in the beneficial recreation. He ſaw the Swiſs countries, where he lived upwards of a year, and though he was then quite young, he had both the curioſity and means of acquiring the beſt information, a memorandum of which is uſeful to him in the preſent time.

ſurpriſing. The American Commonwealth is very far from deſerving ſuch a reproach, becauſe it has been careful and juſt in this reſpect, and its example will be forever applauded.

4. It was after a long forbearance with the tyrannical oppreſſions of the britiſh Empire, that America declared her INDEPENDENCE in 1776, and it was on account of the devaſtations and ruins ſpread over her territory by its unjuſt claimant, that in 1777 the Confederation was eſtabliſhed. Unfortunate Colonies, (though enlightened in virtue and freedom) *(b)* harraſſed by unmerciful enemies, and threatened with an exterminating ſword *(c)*; ye called on each other in the day of ſorrow to condole your ſufferings, and as all were concerned in the general conteſt, ye joined like true brethren in one cauſe, in ſupport of which your ſincere love was ſacredly pledged in the

(b) See *Declar. of Independence*, in princip.

(c) - - *Ibid.* - - - Charges againſt the britiſh tyrant, and eſpecially the laſt five.

the bonds of reciprocity *(d)*. From ſuch a happy combination, the American Democracy inſtantly gained ſtrength and credit. The engliſh and heſſian ſatellites, felt diſappointment, terror and diſcouragement. All changed in favor of freemen, as if the inviſible almighty Hand had openly declared its protection to their enterpriſes. Victories encouraged victories, hoſtile armies were defeated, generals made priſoners, conquerors of cities precipitately diſcomfited with manlineſs and reſolution; and finally the proud Queen of Iſles was obliged to give up even the ports, which our warriors did not care to reſcue from her forces.

5. The American Independence being acknowledged by the principal european Powers, and eſpecially by that very tyrant who oppoſed it, this gallant Nation aſſumed her high ſovereign Dignity, and took her ſeat among the other Powers of the Univerſe. The return of peace reſtored tranquillity

(d) Declar. of Independ. in the conclus. Confederat. Art. 3.

tranquillity to their minds, and they immediately devoted themſelves to induſtry and improvements. Their general government, finding itſelf out of political danger, turned its thoughts to its own organization. From the eſtabliſhment of the Confederation until the concluſion of the war and ſometime afterwards, the public buſineſs of the Nation was carried on in a regular manner, yet upon calm reflection, it appeared that ſome modification would have been proper and uſeful. The people of the United States looked already on it as a Government, which (though adequate to the neceſſities of the times) wanted a reform neceſſary to their permanent welfare. It was proved from experience, than its regulations were rather prolix than nervous; becauſe, (though Congreſs held a ſufficient authority) yet ſuch a power was not ſo explicit and arranged as to admit a manly exerciſe of it, when required. It was very natural for a flouriſhing Nation, which promiſed a wonderful progreſs in the channels of various

improvements, to put her government into a more regular and energetic train. The intereſt of the public required it, and alſo the American Sovereignty. The tranquillity of affairs, during ſeven years, eaſily preſented an opportunity to digeſt ſuch an important ſubject. A general Convocation was made, and a CONVENTION held. This reſpectable body, taking into its ſerious conſideration the circumſtances and flattering proſpect of the Union, the national credit, and above all the general voice of their conſtituents, drew up and agreed on the FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

6. This form of Government is itſelf nothing but a copy of the former, with this difference, that it is more plain, conciſe and manly. By deeply conſidering its title *(e)*, the reader will perceive the

(e) "We the People of the United States, in order "to form a *more perfect* union, eſtabliſh juſtice, inſure "domeſtic tranquillity, provide for the common de- "fence, promote the general welfare, and ſecure the "bleſſings of liberty to ourſelves and our poſterity, do "ordain and eſtabliſh this CONSTITUTION for the "the United States of America.

the beneficial and grand object, for which it was eſtabliſhed.

7. As ſoon as this extenſive Commonwealth placed itſelf under the regulations of the Federal Conſtitution, the political horizon of America aſſumed an air far more majeſtic than before. The european Governments were edified by the new ſyſtem of a democratic Coalition, thus happily arranged and conducted. One offered to her generous loans, another complimented her with new embaſſies; ſome endeavoured to make treaties, and many to court her trade and good correſpondence. All this was effected in a ſhort time, and indeed nothing but a new conſtruction of politics brought forth ſuch advantages. The credit of a Nation ſtands on the energy and ſolidity of her Government, in the ſame manner as the good character of an individual depends on an unblemiſhed conduct. Population, riches and wiſdom, how extenſive, inexhauſtable and ſuperior they may be, are always advantages of little importance in promoting the conſe-

quence

quence of a Nation, if unconnected with her political exiſtence. Government is the key of all, and renders them productive, as conſtituting the collective wiſdom and ſtrength of the People.

8. Agreeably to this ſtatement, founded upon experience and unobjectionable for its evidence, it ſeems proper to turn our attention to the ſtates that form the Federal Commonwealth, conſidering in the firſt place, what would have been the conſequences, if their union ſhould not have taken place.

9. All and each of the Colonies had previous to their confederation, and long before the revolution, their reſpective Government. Whether they adopted it according to their choice, or whether they received it from the britiſh King or Parliament, by way of charter or ſanction, is no way intereſting to my preſent purpoſe; I ſhall only ſuppoſe, that they appeared pleaſed with their own regulations; upon a mature enquiry, however, they never afforded ample ſatisfaction. Their con-

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fined juriſdiction could admit but little improvement, and of courſe their reſpective enterpriſes would have been as limited as inſignificant. It is a natural inclination of man to better his ſtate, if an advancement ſeems probable. Numerous plans occupy his mind, from which he expects ſucceſs, and expectation renders him uneaſy, even amidſt the greateſt affluence and earthly happineſs. The ſame compariſon may be applied to a Republic, the government or officers of which are certainly more ingenious than a common ſpeculatiſt. Diſtreſs would have been the order of the day among the ſtates of North-America, if unconnected and inſulated. Not one of them would have been able to make any treaty, or carry on an intereſting tranſaction with a foreign ſtate.

10. A nation will eaſier undertake buſineſs with another of equal credit and conſequence, than deal with one more or leſs powerful. What induces the political world to adopt ſuch a policy, is on account of an equal claim to the advantages

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and ceremonies attending the negociation, and as the powerful always make a certain demand on the weak, the weak muſt therefore ſometimes ſacrifice a portion of their right in dealing with the powerful; if then any important ſpeculations ariſe between two foreign States, they will be as diſproportionate in point of intereſt, as the difference between their political exiſtence.

11. ¿What buſineſs of conſequence could any of theſe Republics have expected to tranſact with foreign Powers? ¿Can they reſpectively claim an equal rank with the europeans, or would an european Government think it worth while to take any notice of them? I really think not. If the actual commerce of the United States attracts the attention of the principal trading Nations in the world, it is only owing to its collective form. Each ſtate in the Union has a peculiar reſource in trade, but what is abundant in one, is deficient in another. All joined together, unite into a perfect aggregate body, but if ſeparated, all become reduced and diſtreſſed. Their

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divided products would be a mere trifle to a large kingdom or continent; yet I will for a moment ſuppoſe that a foreign Power ſhould make a treaty with ſome of them—could any advantage to this country be derived from it? For my own part, I think it would be very trivial, if any at all. They would be impoſed upon by their allies in the ſame manner, as a young merchant juſt beginning the world, ſuffers from the impoſition of thoſe who are older and more experienced. In a word, all treaties, that any of our States ſhould individually make, would be more a diſgrace than an honour to the American name.

12. To theſe evident evils, others would have been added, reſulting from the political exiſtence of each divided State. It is certain, that when a nation is quite unconnected with its neighbour, the law of the *ſtrongeſt* always prevails. A Republic, acting for itſelf, is always jealous of its rights, and far from regarding the circumſtances of another, will think her own claim juſt. While a ſmall ſtate will think itſelf

itſelf impoſed upon by a large one, the latter will ſuppoſe itſelf degraded by allowing juſtice to the former, and as an adequate mediator is not always to be found, the differences of both would often be decided by force, violation and wars *(f)*. I am perfectly convinced, that, if a General Government had not been adopted by the ſeveral States of the Union, peace would be quite unſteady among them. No ſmall Republic could expect to laſt long. It would be the firſt to fall, and the others in rotation, until the ſtrongeſt would be the univerſal conqueror of them all. In this point of view, the conſequence would probably be, that, if a Monarchy were not immediately ſet up after the conteſt, all the United States would

(f) My Reader will admit, that theſe ſentiments are quite adapted to the old and now revived diſpute between the New England's People and the Pennſylvanians, concerning the Rights of certain territory within the juriſdiction of the latter. I aſk now ; how the diſpute would be decided and ſettled if the Federal Government did nor exiſt ?

would become ſubject to a Commonwealth as ſevere and tyrannical, perhaps, as Deſpotiſm itſelf.

13. Such dreadful events, which are prepared for inſulated Republics, have been wiſely prevented by the grand partnerſhip, which was happily eſtabliſhed, and will, I hope, for ever continue with increaſing ſucceſs. Nothing but the Federal Government could unite theſe States, and raiſe them to their height of reſpectability. The Conſtitution of the United States, is one of the beſt political productions, that the wiſdom of man could deviſe for the eſtabliſhment of his ſolid happineſs here below, and no country of a ſimilar deſcription to this, can ever be emancipated, or ruled with conſtant tranquillity, ſecurity and credit, but under ſuch a ſtandard.

14. In order to form a juſt idea of the excellence of the Federal Government, it is proper to inveſtigate in the firſt place, what can be called a perfect ſyſtem, and

whether Federaliſm anſwers the eſſential purpoſes of it.

15. Deſpotiſm is too repugnant to human reaſon, and Ariſtocracy too unjuſt to deſerve the leaſt diſcuſſion; the Democratic form, therefore, only remains and becomes worthy of a proper and laudable examination. I remember to have read a curious and intereſting paſſage on this ſubject, mentioned by the Abbey Millot in the following manner; I thus literally tranſlate his remarks from the french language.

16. "Plutarch (he obſerves) *(g)* re-
"lates a converſation between the antient wiſe

(g) Elemens d'Hiſtoire Générale, par L'Abbé Millot, Tome premier imprimé à Paris, A. D. 1778—*Hiſtoire Greque*, pag. 251.

Plutarque rapporte une converſation des anciens ſages dans la quelle, on diſcute cette queſtion: Quel eſt le government populaire le plus parfait? Voici leurs reponſes traduites par Rollin. Solon dit, que c'eſt celui où l'injure faite à un particulier intèreſſe tous les citoyens. Bias; celui où la loi tient lieu de tyran (c'eſt à dire de roi). Thalès; celui où les habitants ne ſont ni trop riches ni trop pauvres. Anacharſis; celui où la vertu eſt en honneur, & le vice abhorré. Pittachus; celui où les dignités ne ſont accordées qu' aux gens de bien,

" wiſe men, in which they diſcuſs this " queſtion: ¿ What popular Government " is the moſt perfect? Behold their an- " ſwers tranſlated by Rollin. Solon ſays; " that in which the injury done to a pri- " vate man concerns all the citizens. Bias; " that in which the law keeps the place " of a tyrant, which is to ſay of a king. " Thales; that in which the inhabitants " are neither too rich nor too poor. Ana- " charſis; that in which virtue is exalted, " and vice abhorred. Pittachus; that in " which the appointment of offices are " given to good people, and never to wick- " ed. Cleobulus; that in which the ci- " tizens are more afraid of reprehenſion, " than law. Chilon; that in which the " laws are heard and have credit, and not " the orators."

17. How great the reſpect, which the foregoing ſentences may deſerve for having been pronounced by ſuch eminent States- men,

bien, & jamais aux méchans. Cléobule; celui où les citoyens craignent plus le blâme que la loi. Chilon; celui où les lois ſont ecoutées & ont du crédit, & non les orateurs.

men, yet they appear reſpectively deficient.

18. SOLON was quite imperfect in his idea, becauſe a private citizen is too inadequate to engage a Nation in his behalf. Society would be expoſed continually to inconveniencies. A popular Government, far from being perfect, would always be unhappy, and wars would be as frequent as imprudent citizens are numerous. However eminent ſuch a connection might prove, it would endanger the public welfare.

19. The ſentence of Bias is too raſh in the expreſſion, though juſt in its meaning. The Law certainly occupies the ſeat of Sovereignty in a Republic, but it ſhould rather incline to indulgence than rigour, as there is no need to tyranniſe, in order to be obeyed. Where the affection of the citizens is much wanted towards the ſupport of Government, the laws muſt be mild, and preſerve their reſpectability without any exceſs.

20. THALES appeared too trivial in conveying an important definition on the ſubject.

ſubject. He aimed at the abolition of thoſe extravagancies, which commonly ariſe from a diſproportion of property, and though the arrangement that he propoſes (if the execution were not attended with difficulties) would be exceedingly uſeful, yet the hint is very remote from promoting the real perfection of Democracy.

21. The definition of ANACHARSIS is as deep as patriotic. He ſhews that Virtue is the peculiar Standard of a true Democracy, by ſuppoſing the reverſe (which is the caſe) in all other different Governments; if he however had approached the ſyſtem of BIAS, he would have come nearer to the point.

22. PITTACHUS ſuppoſed no hypocriſy reigning among Mankind, and that the People are able to diſtinguiſh the real merit of a citizen, but as his requiſition evidently exceeds the human capacity, it is as difficult to be expected as it would be glorious if ſurely attained.

23. CLEOBULUS approaches the meaning of ANACHARSIS in a very abſtract way,

way, whilſt he departs from the high reſpect, which the laws demand, according to BIAS.

24. And finally, CHILON concludes, that the laws poſſeſs the claim of being heard and credited; but as the hearing and crediting do not convey the obſervance thereof, his definition appears deficient in the moſt neceſſary requiſite. The latter part of the ſentence is very inſtructive, as it means that orators monopolize and ſpoil a good democratic inſtitution, and I ſuppoſe he did himſelf witneſs the effects of eloquence to be pernicious to the ſimplicity of Republicaniſm. Political Societies appear by this hint to have been noticed very early in the world, and it is a pity, they have not corrected their errors. At a further period I ſhall call on the attention of my Reader reſpecting this latter point.

25. From the preceding brief remarks it ſeems, that none of the ſaid wiſe Politicians individually did fully define a genuine and ſound Democracy; yet a combination

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of their ſentiments ſeems to convey all the conſtituent parts of one entire good ſyſtem to its proper conſtruction; I ſhall preſent my Reader with an extract of their different opinions, by way of interpretation.

According to

Pittachus	Uncorrupted Adminiſtrators,	Conſtitute the beſt popular Government.
Chilon, Bias	Obſervance of Laws,	
Anacharsis, Cleobulus	Emulation in Virtue,	
Solon	Mutual Affection,	
Thales	Equality in Rights and Protection,	

26. If under this definition we can conceive the right form of Democracy, I ſhall turn my attention to Federaliſm. Of two eminent and powerful Democracies, which appeared in theſe late years, the American Commonwealth can with reaſon and propriety claim the moſt ſolid foundation. It is the beſt planned, organized and ſettled; it appears, then, that it more nearly approaches the above deſcription; nay, it is really founded upon the above principles.

27. There

27. There is no Government upon earth which can be exempted from the monopoly of ambition, be auſe man is liable to be corrupted. Deſpotiſm and Ariſtocracy differ from Democracy in this eſſential point, the former making a trade of injuſtice and abuſes, and the latter endeavouring to ſuppreſs every ſymptom of vice. By peruſing the Federal Conſtitution, an impartial reader will perceive its ſuperior delicacy in this reſpect, and therefore how eminently juſtifiable muſt it appear in preſence of the Nation. A good Government, unable totally to extirpate human atrocity, can do no more than prevent its bad conſequences *(b)*, and when it does all which lies in its power to keep its officers and ſervants within the bounds of moderation and equity, it plainly ſhews that it is founded on the moſt candid principles, and that corruption is as much deteſted as puniſhed.

28. The obſervance of the laws is more conſpicuous in this part of the world, than in

(b) See *Deſeng. del Homb.* Chap. IV, § 12, *in fin.*

in any other. The monopolies, contrabands and atrocious crimes that are uſually committed in Europe, are quite ſtrange in this land, and thoſe who are acquainted with both continents, will, I expect, perceive no exaggeration in my aſſertion. The miſunderſtandings laſt year on a late law *(i)*, cannot affect the vaſt Commonwealth of the United States. No good Government can be ſecure from the miſchief of enemies and bad citizens; yet all was a mere foppiſh buſineſs, undertaken by a few favourites of anarchy, who diſgraced the Republican name in appearance, and not in reality.

(i) In June 1794, a law was paſſed by Congreſs, laying certain duties on ſnuff, refined ſugar and diſtilled ſpirits of american produce, which bearing the title of *Exciſe*, was oppoſed for a ſhort time by the deluded back counties of this State; but as a few inſignificant tyrants over freedom were the leaders of a good people, the dangerous plan was ſoon perceived and ſuppreſſed. As this fact, however, has much occupied the minds of politicians, the Author will explain it more diffuſely, for the curioſity of his reader, at another period.

29. With reſpect to the third point, which concerns the emulation of virtue, I wiſh all mankind were as well diſpoſed to practiſe it, as the natives of the United States. Unbiaſſed by any view or partial attachment, I do declare, I have obſerved more charitable inſtitutions, more benevolent meaſures taken by the Legiſlatures as well as Societies, and even private Citizens for the ſupport and encouragement of virtue, than ever I witneſſed in the Catholic Dominions. The hoſpitality and integrity of the American character ſurpriſed indeed my expectation, and I confeſs I have arrived on this Continent almoſt uninſtructed in the ſchool of virtue, though educated in the learned european countries. When I conſider myſelf diveſted of a great part of thoſe abominable prejudices, that are taught in the Italian univerſities *(j)*, I bleſs this ſhore, and feel aſhamed

(*j*) From the year 1775 to 1782, the Author made his courſe of ſtudy in the College of Savona, a city and ſea port, belonging to the Republic of Genoa, thirty miles weſtward from the capital.

aſhamed in enjoying its happineſs without having contributed to its promotion.

30. Where ſuch emulation of virtue exiſts, mutual love dwells of courſe. The Confederation of America, the fidelity and courage of her armies, and the docility of her inhabitants, need no comment on this occaſion.

31. With reſpect to the latter requiſite, the contents of this chapter will evince the exactneſs of the Federal Government in protecting its juriſdiction, whether in part or in the whole. It ſacredly acknowledges the political equality of theſe Republics *(l)*, yet it regards them in proportion to their population, ſo as to allow them an adequate ſhare in its adminiſtration *(m)*. It is a tender father with reſpect to their intereſt, and a ſupreme as well as impartial judge on their conduct. No Republic can impoſe upon another under its cognizance, and ſuch an inſtance has not yet happened, and, it is hoped, never

(*l*) Fed. Conſtit. Art I, Sect. 3, 1ſt clauſe.
(*m*) *Ibid.* - - Sect. 2, 3d clauſe *in fin.*

never will; under ſuch circumſtances, however, the proud would be confuſed, and the weak protected. The different paſſages of the Conſtitution ſhew how dearly it preſerves a true Equality. It is too juſt to deny the people what in juſtice they are entitled to; there is not, however, in America that proſtitute Equality, which levels the learned with the ignorant, the boy with the venerable old citizen, and the rogue with the honeſt man. This kind of *Jacobiniſm* is quite unknown in this country, becauſe Reaſon and Moderation are with her the order of the day. Federaliſm proſcribes all indecent mixtures and confuſions. It protects each individual in his perſonal and poſſeſſional Rights, while it encourages induſtry, loves honeſty, and rewards virtue as well as abilities. It is equally glorious and humane in puniſhing guilt, as in promoting merit. ¿ Can there be found then a better Government under heaven, or can any politician prove to me, that there is a Democracy upon earth more reaſonable

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and ſolid than this? No ſuch a thing is to be ſeen or expected in this age (notwithſtanding the whimſical jargon of *Thermidor*, *Decade*, &c.) *(n)* unleſs new politics are introduced to reform, by which they will undoubtedly approach ours.

32. The *indiviſibility* of Democracy ſeems to be in a new ſtyle, if we believe that ſuch a political plan can really exiſt; it appears, however, as chimerical as preſumptuous, becauſe it ſuppoſes that all popular

(n) So frantic were the french theſe few years paſt with reſpect to their late Government, as to quarrel in the heat of their patriotic zeal, even with INALTERABLE TIME. In the midſt of convulſion and general danger, the wiſe Legiſlators of that Nation have changed the year, the month, the week, &c. (See the Decree of the National Convention of the 24th November 1793, or what they call the *Quartidi of the firſt Decade of Frimaire, ſecond year of the Republic, one and indiviſible.*) If ſuch a droll enterpriſe could have brought forth ſome probable advantage to the public welfare, the ſpeculation would indeed deſerve ſome attention and reſpect; but ¿ what ſolidity can Democracy expect from arranging and verſifying the ſeaſons in a new rhiming language? ¿ Would not a ſound law have been more properly ſubſtituted inſtead of ſuch a decree?

popular Governments are diſunited in their organization, which is evidently unfounded and erroneous. I am not far from believing, agreeably to the opinion of ſeveral politicians, that ſuch a wonderful title has been adopted in oppoſition to Federaliſm. The antipathy of France againſt it, is publicly notorious *(o)*, and whether ſhe be quite ignorant of the excellence of our Government, or whether ſhe affects a *ſuperior* perfection to it, merits ſome inveſtigation, though the former ſeems more probable than the latter.

33. When a Republic is ſo ſmall and limited as to need no delegation to govern it, any diſtinction of diſtrict, or diviſion of

(*o*) Twenty-one members of the National Convention have ſuffered under the guillotine for having adopted the propriety of *Federaliſm*. The *abhorrence* of ſuch a Government, is in France a mark of *pure* patriotiſm; hence one of their ſhips of war proudly bears the name of ANTIFEDERAL. How a civilized Nation could be guilty of ſuch a ſingular prejudice, is indeed ſurpriſing; and on this account it is ſuppoſed, the infancy of that Republic is greatly injured by factions and anarchy.

of juriſdiction, is quite inconſiſtent; but when a large Nation forms itſelf into a Commonwealth, it is truly preſumptuous to pretend, that one legiſlative body can be adequate to completely perform thoſe duties, which the extent of territory and twenty-five millions of inhabitants neceſſarily require. It appears, therefore, that the term *Indiviſibility* ſhould be rather calculated for the former, than the latter. The population of France exceeds any of the european kingdoms, and her continent is equally extenſive. She was convinced that the antient *Athenian* form could not be carried on, of courſe the repreſentation of the people was unavoidable. She counts 85 different departments or thereabouts, and the difference of their names neceſſarily evince their ſeparations. Notwithſtanding, then, theſe natural and eſſential *diſtinctions*, the french Republic calls itſelf, and preſumes to be *indiviſible*.

34. If I muſt admit this, it will reſult from her own aſſertion, and not on the evidence of the fact. When I ſtudied philoſophy

philoſophy I was taught, that an indiviſible being is that, which has *no parts* nor can have *any*; I am, therefore, much ſurpriſed in ſeeing a powerful and enlightened Commonwealth aſſume a denomination ſo degrading, as to ſuppoſe itſelf an inſignificant State, which ſcarcely can be conceived in a geometrical fancy, or a ſingle point. If it is unacquainted with the centre, how can it know the extent of the circle?

35. But I am told, that *Indiviſibility* means likewiſe the ſuppreſſion of any particular ſovereignty in the Republic. I have no doubt that ſuch may be its object; yet no perfection is attained by it above the Federal Government, as there is no difference, I perceive, between their politics in this reſpect. Some enthuſiaſts in France as well as in America have often aſſerted, that all the United States are reſpectively *Sovereign*, and, I believe, they ſtill entertain ſuch a notion, however ſuperficial and without foundation. It is not to degrade, but in order to do juſtice to the American Nation, that I affirm the contrary.

36. It

36. It is certain, that by the Confederation *(p)*, every State retained its ſovereignty *(q)*, but no ſuch a thing is expreſſed in the Federal Conſtitution, which is now enforced; even from the beginning to the end, there is not the leaſt mention or hint of it. The privileges that concern all and each of the States, appear to be guarantied to them by the Art. IV, Sect. 4; but I am ſure they are underſtoood in a different ſenſe from that of an acknowledgment of Sovereignty. Moreover, we can eaſily perceive that ſuch a title was entirely ſuppreſſed, becauſe thoſe powers, by which it could be decently ſupported, were expreſsly forbidden and taken from each of the States, as per Art. I. Sect. 10. The Federal Government is too wiſe to

 ſuffer

(p) Art. II.

(q) It was on this conſideration that the Commonwealth of Maſſachuſetts (Part I, the FRAME OF GOVERNMENT) did boldly aſſume ſuch a high ſtyle. In her previous *Declaration* of *Rights*, however (Part I, Art. IV) ſhe ſeems to moderate her pretenſions, by nearly approaching the expreſſions of the Confederation (Art. 2, *in fin.*)

ſuffer any ſuperficial title within its juriſdiction. It is the only Sovereign Authority in the American Democracy. The definition of *Sovereignty* is to give laws without receiving any, and this is the power of the Federal Government in this part of the world. ¿ Can each State pretend to do the ſame? Let an enlightened politician anſwer me candidly.

37. Nobody will diſpute, that theſe States are free and independent from each other, that they have power to enact laws for themſelves; to erect courts and tribunals; to puniſh any opponent to their laws and regulations; to levy thoſe taxes which the public weal require, provided the general intereſt is by no means injured; but notwithſtanding all thoſe different authorities, they are not ſovereign, nor can the title be properly adapted to them, though they ſhould be honoured with it. They are as ſubject to the legiſlation of Congreſs, as a private family is ſubject to the laws of the land or the particular neighbourhood, in which it may reſide. Such is the ſpi-

rit

rit of union, and ſuch the reſtrictions on which all the States privately and collectively have agreed, in order to cement their own intereſt, credit and happineſs. They derive, indeed, from their grand connection more real and ſubſtantial advantage, than any kind of ſovereignty could promiſe them. As long as Federaliſm ſubſiſts, which I believe will be eternal, no ſovereignty will be acknowledged within this territory but its own. It repreſents the whole Nation, and nothing but the whole can claim with juſtice ſuch an exalted title.

38. It is as abſurd to pretend that the whole territory of France can be properly governed by a National Convention alone, as it would be impolitic for the Federal Government to acknowledge the ſovereignty of the Republics, which erected it. The former with its *indiviſibility*, is as inconſiſtent, as the latter would certainly be with its petty ſovereigns.

39. Government is to a Nation what private regulations are to man. Reaſon preſides over both, but the various degrees

of

of capacity admit a different way of reaſoning. Experience will not permit us to expect, that a child can be familiar with arguments, which are adapted to convince an old or learned man. In the ſame manner it appears, that the Government which is calculated for a ſmall Republic, is quite inadequate for a large Continent. Every thing within its own limits, and let none aſſume or undertake what is not ſuited to his ſtation or capacity. Guided by this principle, ¿ would it not ſeem ridiculous to ſee an inſignificant State in the ſeat of ſovereignty, and a populous Country governed by a reduced aſſembly ?

40. Every ſoil diſtinguiſhed by Nature, feels a difference of climate, of reſources, and of means to render ſuch a ſoil comfortable for habitation ; therefore as different muſt be the laws of its natives. As the people have the right of ſeeking their happineſs, ſo have they the choice of ſecuring its bleſſings ; and as what is neceſſary to one Nation, is often uſeleſs to another, and particular ſituations of countries

tries require particular local rules, we will ſee on this account as many different laws among mankind, as there are different and diſtinct provinces. Under ſuch an impreſſion, it is not to be wondered at that among our United States, we obſerve a variety of Conſtitutions. Each governs in its own department, and though their arrangement may vary in ſome reſpect, they all concur with a democratic ſpirit towards the ſupport of the national dignity. The federal ſuperintendence is rejoiced at the regular and fair courſe of the different Governments, becauſe the people reſpectively appear contented. Experience has ſhewn, that the Supreme Legiſlature of a vaſt continent is incapable of providing laws for all its dependencies, with that wiſdom and precaution neceſſary for each, on account of the various ſituations and diſpoſitions of the inhabitants. Then, this important taſk was acknowledged to be better calculated for the reſpective Governments, than for any other aſſembly

bly *(r)*. They on the ſpot are certainly beſt acquainted with all the local circumſtances, and neceſſities of their juriſdiction, in order to provide properly for them; no authority, therefore, ought to interfere with

(r) The french Democracy differs very much from the american in this reſpect. The manner, in which the National Convention governs her numerous departments, is by ſending to each a repreſentative of the people, who is veſted with an extenſive power of legiſlation. That a Republic ſhould think a ſingle man capable of exerciſing ſuch an authority with wiſdom and integrity, is as paradoxical as it is impoſſible to believe, that any people governed that way can be content and happy. The office of a Viceroy, Governor or Baſhaw among abſolute Monarchies, ſeems to anſwer that of a Citizen at the head of a State. The former as well as the latter hold ſimilar powers, and if any of them ever becomes a tyrant, there is reaſon to ſuſpect, that the *Citizen* will not be backward in taking equal advantages. Polverel and Santonax in the Weſt-Indies, Carrier in Nants, and Lebon in Arrás and ſeveral others are the Republican Champions, whoſe tranſactions fill every freeman's mind with horror and deteſtation. ¿ Could it be expected that the infamous crimes committed by them, would be attempted under the cognizance of the Federal Conſtitution?

with theirs on the ſubject *(s)*; and it is on this account, that Congreſs will never take any cognizance of their political adminiſtration. They are convinced that all ſuch tranſactions are right, and rely on the wiſdom and patriotiſm of the ſeveral Legiſlatures for the welfare of the American citizens. Thus after having inveſtigated the Federal ſyſtem with ſome degree of caution and penetration, I conceive it may be defined: *the* PURITY *of Government, the* CENTRE *of friendly union, and the* SOURCE *of political happineſs.*

41. It is only by knowing the difference of cauſes, that man can perceive what is more advantageous to him, and it is by diſcriminating them that a federal politician can render himſelf uſeful to his fellow-citizens. In the preceding contents, they will remark ſome kind of Freedom, which

(s) If this be a clear proof of acknowledging and protecting the imperſcriptible rights of a free and enlightened people, ¿ does the National Convention of France mean to do the ſame, by her interfering with the internal policy of each Province or Department ?

which indeed would have appeared more acceptable if more diſſembled, but ¿ what truth can be expected from ſentiments controlled by fear or checked by reſpect ? What is to be ſaid, and eſpecially what is uſeful to the people, muſt not be ſuppreſſed. It is a ſacred oath that I preſcribed to myſelf ever ſince the beginning of this work, and ſuch is the ſtandard to which my pen and ſentiments will be forever faithful ; under it, therofore, I am willing to ſuffer, if neceſſary. Let not my Reader be a Jacobin, and let him review my labours with a ſpirit of moderation, and when he comes to the point of deciding, I truſt that he will declare, that no enlightened people will ever expect to exerciſe and enjoy their indelible rights, but under the genuine and powerful protection of a Federal Government.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

JUSTICE OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN CLAIMING THE SUPPORT OF EVERY AMERICAN CITIZEN.

EVERY thing, which is neceſſary to the promotion of any Good, is uſeful in itſelf, and all thoſe, who ſtand in need of ſuch good, muſt appreciate the effects in proportion to the neceſſity of the cauſe. The effects of the Federal Government muſt certainly be good, becauſe its energy and excellence are evident, and unqueſtionable; it appears, then, that it being as uſeful as eſſential to the political exiſtence of America, the people of the United States cannot but hold it in the higheſt degree of eſtimation, by their firm attachment to it. Every good citizen will, indeed, be convinced of the propriety of

this aſſertion, becauſe to think in this manner, is the right method of promoting the welfare of Society. So juſt is the cauſe of our Government, than it claims more (to give it its due) than can be conveyed in a laconic argument. It knows that every inhabitant has ſenſe enough to allow cheerfully what is reaſonable, and that he is entitled to hear, reſpect and judge, in order to give a liberal aſſent rather than the ſervile tribute of a blind homage, or unmeaning adulation. With this patriotic view, I ſhall ſubmit to the conſideration of my Reader two principal motives, by which the Federal Government juſtly deſerves the conſtant ſupport of its citizens, viz. 1ſt. *as being deviſed, choſen and ſanctioned by them*; *and* 2dly. *as promoting all thoſe bleſſings, which they generally enjoy as a political and commercial Nation.*

2. To the duties, which man profeſſes by natural propenſity *(a)*, I muſt add another kind, which is that of *adoption*. When

(a) See Chap. I, § 5.

When through intereſt, pleaſure or hope, he ſubmits his free will to a future performance of any thing, it becomes a debt as ſolemn as it is freely contracted. He is bound to comply with it with the ſame preciſion that ariſes from thoſe duties, which Nature impoſes on him. The ſocial intercourſe of mankind depends ſo firmly on this ſacred tie, that its diſſolution muſt transform them into ſavages.

3. Honour is the cementing bond of an adopted duty, and as long as honour exiſts, it will be faithfully performed. This charming and eminent Virtue has been always cheriſhed by every claſs of men, but as time with its uſual revolutions, diſturbs the moſt pure and pellucid ſtream of inſtitution, the profanation of it occaſions no great degree of wonder. The human being reſpects honour with ſuch a ſtrict delicacy, as to invoke its name on the critical citation of an unknown truth; yet I lament to ſee this ſacred prerogative, profaned on the moſt trivial and ridiculous ſubjects of converſation. Sen-

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ſibility and a good diſpoſition are the ſafe guardians of honour, and it is owing to their refinement or deficiency, that man aſpires to it with candour or degrades it by hypocriſy; the perſon, however, who deliberately renounces it, renders his ſituation as proſtitute and vicious, as it is infamous and dangerous.

4. I feel an uncommon ſatisfaction in acknowledging, without the leaſt flattery, that my fellow-citizens of the United States are generally proficient in the noble ſchool of honour, and impartial juſtice obliges me me to ſay, that a man by deſerving the title of *good American*, acquires an honourable character. In fact, ¿ Who can be more virtuous than an orderly and well diſpoſed Freeman ?

5. Uprightneſs acknowledges a debt, and honour ſtimulates its faithful compliance. It is by pledging it ſeriouſly that its real value and importance is perceived, and a ſenſible man becomes ſo well inſtructed in its punctilios, as to be very cautious in hazarding it in the common occurrence

occurrence of human affairs. Other reflections of a more ſerious nature remain yet to be obſerved, reſpecting an *adopted* duty.

6. When a promiſe is ſolemnly ſanctioned in writing, it does not extend it, but it certainly becomes more intereſting. Man already can hope no advantage from forfeiting his pledged word, becauſe all roguiſh reſources are cut off by his ſtanding and fixed ſignature. The Latin proverb *(b)* is truly inſtructive to him, and from it, I have reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the invention of writing was improved by mankind, to prevent the inconveniencies ariſing from the inconſiſtency of human tranſactions. Nothing but performance is required from a debtor. If he refuſes it, he becomes deſpicable by loſing his honour, but his note ſtill remains againſt him, and he will be compelled by force in caſe of reſiſtance. ¡ How many are there who neglect and even diſown their natural obligations,

(b) Verba volant, ſcripta manent. Words fly, and writing remains.

obligations, without being able to aboliſh thoſe of adoption! This proves that the latter are more preſſing and ſtrong than the former, becauſe in that particular reſpect, man is ſubject and not free. Such is the conſequence of a free ſtipulation.

7. From what has been premiſed, I ſhall requeſt the attention of my Readers with regard to the duty, which they owe their Government. They did deviſe and adopt it, of courſe their honour is ſacredly pledged. They have ſolemnly ſanctioned it, and their ſignatures are oſtenſible. ¿ What is then required from them? Let their real intereſt and credit be conſulted, and I have no doubt, but their deciſion will be for a *generous* and *conſtant* ſupport.

8. But ſome will queſtion, whether the people of the United States, by having choſen and approved the Federal Government, muſt ſubmit themſelves to be governed by it for ever. Such an idea cannot be inferred from my ſentiments, unleſs ſophiſtry ſupport the criticiſm of my cenſor.

cenſor. It is a problem quite unconnected with my tenets, and rather adapted to the abilities of Edmund Burke, whoſe execrable doctrines I have conſtantly anathematiſed.

9. It is Reaſon and Duty, which induce a federal Politician to acknowledge, that the Sovereign PEOPLE have the abſolute and inherent right to reform, change or aboliſh their form of Government whenever they think it proper, and neceſſary to their political circumſtances *(c)*; but my queſtion,

(c) To approve a thing, and ſoon after diſapprove it, if a material revolution of circumſtances does not authoriſe it, ſhews certainly a kind of inconſiſtence. It might, therefore, be argued, whether the power of the People include the right of being capricious. That our preſent age be authoriſed to aboliſh what the preceding has enacted, is quite natural, becauſe we may ſuppoſe our circumſtances different from, and our underſtanding more enlightened than thoſe of our Anceſtors, but that the People ſhould adopt a conſtitution in order to ſubvert it after a few years are elapſed, ſeems quite paradoxical. The revolution of ſo ſhort a time can never afford reaſon to alter the mind, and much leſs the reſolves of an improved and wiſe Nation.

queſtion, if well and thoroughly underſtood, is that the people are bound to ſupport it, while it is in force. As there are lawful means to reform a Government, ſo there muſt be honour to maintain it, when its authority is legally exerciſed. The Federal Conſtitution, ſince its additional amendments in the year 1789, did not undergo any alteration, except lately in its Judicial power *(d)*, which is quite immaterial as to its plan. It appears, then, that the People of the United States (I mean the great majority) ſtill give it their hearty approbation; we muſt of couſe conclude that their general ſupport of it, is their actual duty.

10. ¿ Can

(d) On account of ſome ſuits moved in the Federal Court againſt certain States of the Union by private Citizens, the ſummons was conſidered as diſreſpectful to the defendant, and it is for this reaſon, that a motion originated in the Senate of the United States againſt the latter meaning of the 1ſt Clauſe, Sect. 2, Art. III. of the Federal Conſtitution; a reſolution of courſe was carried in the affirmative in the ſaid Senate, *(See its journal, pag.* 31*)* which being agreed to by the

10. ¿ Can any rational Being be ſo whimſical, or rather unjuſt in refuſing payment for an article, which he has bought and received at a public auction, or ſhall he marry a clever honeſt girl to diſtreſs her by denying that ſubſiſtence ſhe neceſſarily requires? Integrity abhors the meanneſs of ſuch an action, yet how frequently are theſe villainies committed in Society, becauſe bad men are numerous every where; a Nation, however, cannot be ſuſpected for ſuch conduct at the bar of an adopted Government, becauſe her wiſdom and juſtice ſuperſede any kind of private corruption. The moſt ſcrupulous Politicians may with confidence remain

 eaſy

the Houſe of Repreſentatives, and ſoon approved by the Preſident, the latter was requeſted to tranſmit a copy of it to each Legiſlature of the Union (ſee *ibid* pag. 75) for their approbation, agreeably to the 5th Art. of the Fed. Conſtit.—The amendment runs in the following terms: "The Judicial power of the "United States ſhall not be conſtrued to extend to "any ſuit in law or equity, commenced or proſecuted "againſt one of the United States by citizens of ano-"ther State, or by citizens or ſubjects of any foreign "State."

eaſy on this ſcore, as Society is too reſpectable a body to be miſtruſted. What enormities would not the vicious part of the people attempt, if the Community appeared timid or indifferent in preventing the breach of good faith, and the neglect of duty. Social connection would be at an end, and mankind be as wretched as criminal. Men ſeek for comfort and happineſs, therefore they ſhould be attached to the cauſe, by which thoſe great ends are obtained; and as their Government is the main ſpring in promoting their welfare, it is an unqueſtionable truth that the People are bound to it in the ſtrict attachments of fidelity, and ſupport. Reaſon indeed will prove to any ſenſible man, that it is unjuſt to diſown, diſhonourable to tranſgreſs, and criminal to reſiſt the performance of a duty, on which the political exiſtence of a Nation depends.

11. But the obligations, which the citizens of the United States profeſs to the Federal Government, become more ſerious the more we conſider the great advantages derived

derived from it. That is undoubtedly an agreeable duty, which rewards its performer with an abundance of earthly bleſſings, and the American Freemen may certainly repute themſelves happy in profeſſing it.

12. If we take a view of the different Nations, that ſurround the Federal Commonwealth, we will perceive that each of them is a jealous neighbour if not inimical to her welfare; yet by means of good policy, ſhe has enjoyed proſperity amidſt all obſtacles. The Britiſh on the northweſt ſide, by erecting their forts and garriſons, have been continually aiming at uſurpation and aggrandizement in their encroachments on the republican territory, and it is owing to the vigilance of the Federal forces, that their rapacious views were reſtrained. The Indians, inſtigated by the influence of intriguers, have not been inactive in diſturbing our frontiers, yet no advantage have they attained by it. Some of thoſe barbarous tribes were defeated, others ſued for peace, and ſeveral undertook to attack their own neighbours

for

for the Federal cauſe. Their political diſunion, is a clear inſtance of our advantage. They reſpect the American flag by feeling its powerful ſuperiority, even at the time they diſregard the faithful and generous ſtandard. A people united can never dread their ſcattered enemies, becauſe Federaliſm is the centre of vigour and glory.

13. The Spaniards on the ſouth, would not ſhew ſuch a prudent demeanor to the Georgians and Kentuckians, did they not dread the ſtrength of the Federal Eagle. We have ſeen them at ſeveral periods rather inclined to remonſtrance, than reſentment in their diſputes, yet the American Government, nobly diſregarding any advantage that a fearful Nation evidently offered, did juſtice to theſe foreigners, and reſtrained the too great zeal of its own citizens *(e)*.

14. But

(e) The people of the ſouth-weſtern countries have always been very anxious for the free navigation of the river Miſſiſippi to the ocean, and it was in the beginning of 1794, that this object was attentively regarded, and even attempted in a clandeſtine and dangerous manner,

14. But what we have obſerved, is very little in compariſon to the invaſive intruſions on this Commonwealth, occaſioned by Deſpotic cabals. At a time that ſeveral European Monarchs were combined in open hoſtility and perfidious ſchemes againſt the French Democracy, the diſſenting Governments were vigorouſly ſummoned to join

manner, (*ſee the proteſt of the new french Ambaſſador, publiſhed at that time in the newſpapers, declaring void any commiſſion previouſly given*, &c.) which were prudently defeated by the Federal Government, which iſſued a proclamation, about the ſame period, and took active meaſures in preventing ſuch an enterpriſe, as appears from the correſpondence of the Executive Department with that of Kentucky. On entering upon this ſtill undecided buſineſs, the Author obſerves, that by the Proviſional Treaty ſtipulated on the 30th November, 1782, and the Definitive Treaty made on the 3d of September, 1783, (Art. 8) between the United States of America and Great-Britain, both agreed on the point in the following terms: "The navigation of the "river Miſſiſippi from its ſource to the ocean, ſhall for-"ever remain free and open to the ſubjects of Great-"Britain, and the citizens of the United States."

This clauſe implicitly ſuppoſes, that the Britiſh had, when in poſſeſſion of the United State's territory, ſuch a right;

join the unjuſt enterpriſe. The court of St. James, guided by pride more than ſtrength, and nearer the ſcene of oppoſition with a valiant enemy, looked on the United States with a jealous eye. It felt in the beginning of the war, and eſpecially after two unſucceſsful and expenſive campaigns, the loſs of America; but no ſupport

a right; it is however uncertain, at leaſt to the Author's knowledge, whether the French Government, which previouſly to the Spaniſh, was the ſovereign owner of Florida and Louiſiana, allowed the engliſh the free navigation of the Miſſiſippi, as it is expreſſed. In caſe that the Britiſh Nation enjoyed ſuch a privilege, the United States have certainly a juſt claim to it, by virtue of the aforeſaid agreement, becauſe as no Power can receive (uſurpation excepted) the ſovereign juriſdiction of a Province or Continent, without acknowledging the rights which belong to, or are allowed by the ſame territory, Spain appears to owe ſtill the ſaid privilege to Great-Britain. In conſidering, that the Spaniards own both ſides of the river from its mouth for a great inland diſtance, they are proprietors of the land, its depth and atmoſphere; it ſeems of courſe, that within their juriſdiction they can admit or reject an intercourſe to any foreign Nation, conſequently they hold the right of hindering or allowing the

ſupport could be expected from an independent people, whoſe genuine politics conſtantly abhorred the preſumption of Britain.

15. George the III with his underſtrappers, was in one reſpect pleaſed with the Federal conduct, and in another he diſliked it. Perceiving that America would not

the ſaid free paſſage. Nobody can deny, that the Spaniſh Government ſhews in this reſpect an evident animoſity, peculiar to its policy, becauſe no prejudice or injury could reſult to their ſettlements, by the american veſſels merely paſſing there. If any could be ſuppoſed it muſt only originate in the chimerical fear of a contraband trade, to which the Spaniſh finances are vigorouſly averſe, on account of protecting the extortions of their cuſtom-houſes; but even theſe ideal inconveniencies might be prevented by their vigilance. It is however indiſputable, that the navigation of ſuch a river, would be exceedingly uſeful to the Spaniſh and American people of thoſe countries. The fact is, that this queſtion appears to be too deep and complicated for an ample diſcuſſion within the limits of this work. It is expected, however, that the Federal Government does not loſe ſight of ſuch a beneficial object, and if it ſucceed in its views, it will be a further proof of that vigilance, which has been conſtantly purſued in promoting the advantages of the American citizens.

not fight for, nor much leſs take the leaſt part in any Engliſh cauſe, particularly the preſent, which aims at the deſtruction of the French Nation *(f)*; her neutrality gave great conſolation to the Britiſh machiaveliſm. " One enemy leſs than we expect-
" ed *(ſaid theſe miniſters within their ſecret*
" *cloſet)* is a vaſt encouragement to our
" glorious plan. The United States would
" oblige us to divide our forces, and of
" courſe expoſe our cauſe, either in Eu-
" rope or America. The moſt important
" object is to ſubdue the Sanſculottes, af-
" ter which all Republics are eaſily con-
" quered. Spain, our good ally, would
" follow

(f) It is commonly admitted as notorious, that the French Nation has protected and ſupported the american cauſe in ſuch a manner, as to be conſidered the principal agent in obtaining its freedom and independence. Every grateful citizen of the United States, of courſe, always felt a partial attachment to the French liberty and welfare; it being more than probable that the Federal Government, if preſſed on a final deciſion, would have attended the general voice, and joined the French againſt the injuſtice of all European deſpots.

" follow our example, and we cannot judge
" what would become of Florida and Loui-
" ſiana; beſides this our faithful Canadi-
" an, Bermudian, and Weſt-Indian ſubjects
" would be harraſſed by an immenſe num-
" ber of privateers, their trade diſturbed,
" and their towns ſtarved. The adopted
" policy of America, is, indeed, a great ad-
" vantage to us. Let us ſucceed in this
" actual conteſt with France, and then we
" ſhall have time and pretexts enough, to
" ſettle our *antient* account with her *(g)*.
" No good policy can allow our open re-
" ſentment to the Federal neutrality, be-
" cauſe what we may venture with other
" diſſenting governments, it is wiſe to diſ-

 " ſemble

(g) Were it not for the ſucceſſes of the French Freemen, God knows to what an extremity Engliſh pride and injuſtice would have arrived. It is more than probable, that the Britiſh king would with his victories have inſtantly forgotten what he ſolemnly acknowledged in favour of the United States {See Proviſional Treaty, Definitive Treaty, Art. I.} and perhaps try, once more, to overwhelm the Americans with Heſſian blood.

" ſemble with America at preſent *(b)*.
" Our intereſt leads us to accept her pledg-
" ed good faith, and take ſecret meaſures for
" the encouragement of our privateers *(i)*.
" By

(b) Every one knows how Britiſh arrogance has been impoſing upon all the petty ſovereigns and governments of Italy. The king of Naples, the court of Rome, and the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, admitted for a long time the French envoys, with a neutral diſpoſition, and the latter eſpecially received his ambaſſador longer than the others, until the Britiſh influence, tricks and menaces made them all change the adopted plan. The Republic of Genoa declared her neutrality, but with very great difficulty and prudence maintained it againſt the daring threats and impoſition of Lord Hood, whoſe inſolence, on that occaſion, ſhewed the true character of an Engliſh Admiral. From all ſimilar inſults the Federal Government was exempted, but the Reader muſt conſider, that this exemption was not on the ſcore of true friendſhip, becauſe the Engliſh miniſtry are remarked for a total want of ſincerity, but merely on account of the ſolid, reſpectable and permanent footing, on which the political ſituation of America ſtood.

(i) As iniquity pays no regard to truth, honour or juſtice in her dark projects, ſo England, acting under the baneful influence of ſuch unprincipled conduct, authoriſed

"By this method our enemies will be eaſily "conquered, the force of our allies weak-"ened, and our plan completely ſucceſsful."

16. My Reader will eaſily conjecture in what critical, though unmerited circumſtances, the affairs of this country were involved by a faithleſs Power, the conſtant object of which has been to impoſe and trample on the Rights of all Nations.

17. France in the beginning of the war wiſhed certainly that America would have taken

authoriſed a clandeſtine depredation on the American trade. Secret inſtructions were ſent to all the Britiſh pirates to ſeize the veſſels of the United States, yet if the *friendly* aſſurance of that Cabinet, be worthy of ſome attention, it appeared much attached to the intereſt of this country. The fact is, that, while it affected to reſpect the general conduct and intereſt of America, in reality it robbed her citizens of their private property. If there be any honour in ſuch conduct, it can only be ſupported by a corrupt Briton or blockhead, and not by an enlightened citizen. It is, however, a conſolation to all freemen, that Britiſh oppreſſion is nearly pinioned to the duſt. The Federal Government has declared its protection to the claims of its traders, and ſuch a patronage will undoubtedly meet a compenſation adequate to its liberality.

taken her part and joined in the cauſe *(l)*; but the latter perceiving no material provocation from the oppoſite ſide, for a deciſive reſolution, endeavoured to avoid plunging again into thoſe diſtreſſes, with which experience made her acquainted during her late conteſt, by adopting an impartial neutrality. England (naturally miſtruſtful) inſiſted on a ſtrict obſervance of it, and her Miniſter Plenipotentiary ſeemed quite active and preciſe. The diſappointment of the former, and the punctilios of the latter, obſcured for ſome time the political horizon of America, and I remember to have ſeen ſeveral politicians apprehenſive of an imminent declaration of war againſt the United States. The defenſive

(l) William Wilcocks (the *celebrated* newſpaper writer of New-York) in the cloſe of 1793, uſhered to the public, under his *reſpectable* ſignature, a ſtatement of the exertions made in this country by his *friend* the then French Ambaſſador. The Author thinks it not worth while to repeat what Wilcocks's *famous* amplifications on the ſubject have already explained, and begs leave to refer his Reader to the ſaid MASTER PIECES.

defenſive meaſures taken with activity in this country, announced, indeed, no agreeable conſequences to the friends of peace and commerce. Yet, when we conſider that America got clear of ſuch impending dangers, we muſt confeſs that it muſt have been owing to the prudence and wiſdom of the Federal Government, that all the political ſtorms, which darkened the flouriſhing proſpects of the Nation, have been ſucceſsfully diſperſed. It was certainly a delicate buſineſs to maintain a ſincere friendſhip with France, and huſh in the mean while the jarrings and diffidence of Great-Britain. We know what mortal enemies thoſe two powers are to each other; on that account a neutrality pleaſing to both could not be ſo eaſily deviſed and ſafely continued, but by a ſound policy on a ſolid foundation.

18. With ſuch ſplendor has the Federal Government conducted itſelf in the political affairs of America, at the ſame time indefatigable in every exertion for her commercial improvements.

19. When

19. When theſe free and independent States were colonies ſubject to the Britiſh Empire, the extortions they had undergone from that ſtrange ſyſtem of finances, are ſtill remembered. They received the worſt of every article, and were obliged to pay at the higheſt rate. They were not permitted to trade with any other Nation, than their oppreſſor, and all their exportations came almoſt to nothing, after the expences of freight and duties of entry in the Engliſh cuſtom-houſes. This kind of impoſition ceaſed ſince their happy ſeparation, and their induſtry took a better turn. The Confederation ſoon contrived the method of improving their commerce and agriculture, by promiſing a flattering compenſation for paſt loſſes; but every body, acquainted with the paſt and preſent times, will allow, that the trade and population of the United States were never in ſo flouriſhing a condition, as they have been theſe few years paſt.

20. Since the commencement of the European war, the United States have had an

an additional augmentation of more than five hundred thouſand inhabitants. All enlightened Freemen, reprobating the abuſes and corruption of their country, emigrated from it to take ſhelter in America. Here flocked from all quarters men celebrated for genius, manufacturers, and workmen of the moſt improved taſte in every branch. Merchants were eager to tranſmit to this ſhore their ſtocks, and rich gentlemen arrived to encourage the ſettlement of this vaſt Continent. When ſo great an influx of emigrants from all Nations and profeſſions is thoroughly conſidered, we will ſee, that nothing but the excellence of this Government could induce them to leave their native ſoil, and prefer this for their reſidence. The firſt point of view in which a ſtranger conſiders a Nation, is that of her Government. Before he determines on his emigration, he ponders ſeriouſly and compares that Government, which he is about to reſign with all thoſe, to which he is at liberty to live under. His chief ſtudy is devoted

to

to diſcover the beſt of all, to remove every future cauſe of repenting his choice. If this be the caſe (as it probably is) with each man, who finds himſelf obliged to quit his country, we muſt ſuppoſe that the emigrants to our land have already made this cautious and prudent calculation; conſequently their numerous arrivals prove, that no Government is more congenial to the diſpoſition of an enlightened and induſtrious Freeman, than this. Thus in fact has America acquired fame, admirers and political recruits.

21. The value of lands in the United States, has increaſed two thirds ſince the year 1790. ¿ What is the cauſe of it, what, but the great demand it is in by foreigners inclined to cultivate it? *(m)*. This country, for its fertility and abundance

(m) Since that period, land-jobbing had an amazing career in America, and ſome of its votaries have made a fortune as extenſive as unjuſt. The cultivation of the back countries, it is true, increaſes tolerably well, but if the advantages of the time were not ſpoiled by a certain tribe of ſpeculators, enemies to general

ance of all kind of proviſions, is already renowned throughout the world. Several European powers depend chiefly on its reſources. Spain begins to decline in her natural jealouſy about trade, and opens her ports to American importations. France ſends for convoys, and to England nothing remains, but the invidious ſorrow of ſeeing the Sanſculottes with fine loaves dancing the Carmagnole. Were it not for our old tories, and a certain deſcription of merchants inclined and accuſtomed to import Engliſh goods, the Britiſh manufactures would dwindle into a ſtate of trivial inſignificance. I really conceive, that the rapid ſale, England has for her goods, is not owing to their being manufactured in a ſuperior ſtyle, but to a certain diſlike againſt France, occaſioned by a long commercial intercourſe in ancient prejudices; yet I have reaſon to aſſert that

 the

general improvements, a traveller might walk from farm to farm in all directions to the Indian ſettlements. ¿Can they deſerve more, than to wiſh them good luck in their intruſive ſpeculations?

the French induſtry has refined that of the Engliſh, Genevans, Swiſs, Italians, &c. Had it not been for the extravagance or rather religious inſanity, which ſeized Louis XIV, no foreign Nation would have exceeded in any reſpect the French manufactures *(n)*. But this diſgraceful hiſtory of royalty being foreign to my purpoſe, I ſuffer every one to enjoy their own opinions as well as prejudices, and ſhall return from this digreſſion to the commerce

(n) After the infamous conduct purſued by libertiniſm and tyranny, a weak mind is apt to plunge into the lethargy of ſuperſtition and religious cabals, to compenſate the miſchief done, and then the clergy uſually confer on its poſſeſſor the title of a *converted ſinner*. Thus Louis XIV, honored withthe epithet of *Louiſon* (big Louis), was looked upon as regenerated in grace and reſtored to the opening arms of holy mother the Church, when he conceived the moſt mplacable hatred to his ſubjects of the proteſtant religion, who flying from oppreſſive perſecution, ſought refuge in different parts of the World and eſpecially in England. Thus this emigration, calamitous in itſelf, ſupplied Britain with the beſt manufacturers and workmen of all kinds, gaining by their misfortunes, in proceſs of time, the greateſt advantages.

commerce of America. The Nations of the Baltic and Eaſt Indies, appear rejoiced at the ſight of Federal colours flying in their harbours, and thoſe of the Mediterranean wiſh no injury ſhould be offered to American veſſels by the African pirates (o) in order to benefit by their riſing trade and induſtry.

22. It is truly ſurpriſing what a number of veſſels are launched from the ſtocks of

(o) The port of Algiers has become known in the United States, on account of the piracies committed, in theſe two years paſt, on their property and citizens. It is not to be wondered at, if the diſtance of the Federal Commonwealth affords an advantage to that lawleſs Nation from making an unjuſt depredation on her, but the friend of mankind is certainly aſtoniſhed, that the European Governments would permit ſuch a neſt of thieves and aſſaſſins to act thus unmoleſted. Dulcigno, Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers, are ſettlements ſo inſignificant that they may be ſubdued by any one of the actual maritime belligerent powers, if no other ſhould interfere; notwithſtanding this, they continue with their uſual violence to attack all, and none dares to touch them. This ſtrange myſtery owes its foundation to the jealouſy of the civilized and

of the different ports in the United States, which are immediately replaced by a quick ſucceſſion of new keels *(p)*. This clearly accounts for the great number of ſeamen,

and trading Nations to each other, and the dark policy of England has (it is believed) ſome hand in the buſineſs of thoſe barbarians by whom America has ſo materially ſuffered. It is however a ſatisfaction to know, that the reſources of the Federal ſyſtem are ſo great as to cheer the Nation with confidence, that active meaſures will be taken (if not already) for the relief of the innocent American ſufferers in that cruel ſlavery, and that ſucceſsful means are not wanting, if put in practice, for the free navigation in the Mediterranean.

(p) In the preſent period the port of Philadelphia builds every year upon an average, 30 large veſſels for foreign trade, without counting the ſchooners and ſloops calculated for the coaſt, which make an equal number. A calculator will probably ſay, that no port in the Union equals that of this City; yet ſo many are they, that even a reduction being allowed to each in proportion, a ſurpriſing collection of new built veſſels will be numbered by the diſcerning reader, who muſt certainly doubt, whether the old queen of Iſlands is as attentive to her own improvement as the new American continent.

men, the increaſe of trading ſtock *(q)*, and eminently proves, that induſtry of every kind, finds under the Federal atmoſphere peace and encouragement.

23. Did leiſure permit me to indulge in rhetorical amplifications, the bulk of this work would acquire ſome fame, if by its magnitude only, a writer can be renowned. The preſent ſubject offers, indeed, to a flowery orator an ample field for the diſplay of his abilities, but a politician in my ſphere can only depend upon plain deſcriptions, and dry philoſophical reaſonings; hence he will laconically conclude that the political and commercial proſpects of America, are actually arrived at the moſt flattering ſummit of improvement for the time. He will even on ſuch a ſucceſsful progreſs venture to acknowledge, that this Nation will reach in ſome fortunate period, not far remote, that eminence of reſpectability, which in theſe laſt centuries

(q) The amount of the exports of the United States has increaſed in the years 1792 & 1793, eight millions, and a half.

turies had ſwelled the pride of certain Powers, whoſe rapid decay is plainly perceived. The truth of this prophecy, however, reſts entirely upon the attachment of my fellow-citizens to their preſent Government. If they are careful in preſerving the purity of their political Syſtem, and honourable in performing the duties of it, which they themſelves have adopted, they will ſee all I foretell in a future day verified, and experience a permanent ſatisfaction and happineſs.

24. Therefore it being evident from the foregoing contents, that it is the duty of all American Freemen to love, reſpect and defend the Federal Government, its CLAIM conſequently becomes *reaſonable* and *juſt*. Let Reaſon act, and reaſon will call on the grateful and honourable diſpoſition of my fellow Citizens for the ſupport of their laws and national dignity, in favour of which, I truſt, their own capacity will be the beſt advocate.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

OFFICERS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT—THEIR QUALIFICATION, DUTIES, ELECTIONS, &c.

IMPARTIAL Reaſon evinces the juſtneſs of the Republican Axiom, which is taught in the School of Democracy, that the National Government implies neither more nor leſs, than the Authority of the Nation. We have obſerved, that the propagation of mankind has already increaſed ſo much as to render impracticable the mode of antient Republics, which carried on all the powers of Government by the actual voice of the People, without the neceſſity of Repreſentation. The ſmall number of inhabitants, who compoſed

poſed the Commonwealth of Athens, could reduce to practice what in the preſent day would rather cauſe confuſion. This important motive has occaſioned Democracy to feel a want of reform in the manner, but not in its principles; hence the people ſeeking conſtantly for the beſt method of carrying on their government, wiſely reſolved to appoint the moſt approved citizens for that purpoſe. This appointment we now term *Repreſentation*, ſo generally adopted in our Federal Government. Having already viewed its excellent Conſtitution, it is now neceſſary to conſider the qualification, and duties of its reſpective officers for the due adminiſtration thereof. My Reader will naturally ſuppoſe, from the number and variety of public officers belonging to this Republic, that a circumſtantial account of them could ſcarcely be compriſed within the narrow compaſs of a ſingle chapter, and as my object is only to purſue what appears the moſt eſſential, I ſhall firſt treat of Legiſlative,

lative, and ſecondly of Executive Departments *(a)*.

2. Three qualifications, appear to me, to be eſſentially requiſite in all perſons elected as Repreſentatives of the People, and when I addreſs any man of ſuch a claſs, I really reſpect him as a poſſeſſor of them. Theſe qualifications, I ſay, are *talents*, *integrity* and *patriotiſm*. Every ſenſible man will acknowledge, that Congreſs is the wiſeſt aſſembly of citizens in the United States. The previous information that the American people have of the character of their countrymen, the importance of the office of a member of the Legiſlature, and the care that is taken in the legality of elections, will evince that the three eminent qualities already mentioned, diſtinguiſh in a conſpicuous manner our

 Legiſlators.

(*a*) Government (according to the new ſyſtem of politics) being divided into three branches, viz. *Legiſlative*, *Executive* and *Judicial* powers, ſome will think that the latter ought to undergo a third diſcuſſion; but as the Author means to treat chiefly of officers elected by the Nation, he will take only a curſory view of it in the courſe of the ſecond part.

Legiſlators. I will for a moment agree with the obſervations of ſome critics, who ſay, that the ſeats in Congreſs are not all occupied by perſons equally deſerving, as there are ſome in that honourable ſituation, who might be eaſily replaced by others far ſuperior to them in abilities, but ſuppoſe a Legiſlator deficient in public abilities, I ſtill muſt conſider him the choice of his electors who returned him, and notwithſtanding his want of ſhining genious, I am conſcious, that his integrity and patriotiſm muſt have ſtrongly recommended him, and thus what is deficient in great talents is amply ſupplied in honeſt virtues, inſpired by his country's glory throbbing at his heart. In a word we muſt ſuppoſe the man duly elected by the free and unbiaſſed ſuffrages of his countrymen, properly qualified to repreſent them, without making any farther comment on the ſubject. Under this conception, it would be certainly improper to criticiſe the whole on account of a part. Caution appears highly neceſſary in this reſpect, when we conſider

conſider the evident abſurdities in which an imprudent Writer might probably be involved. The contents of this chapter are not devoted to ſuch a minute inveſtigation, I hope, therefore, that my obſervations will be deemed general, whether the *ſingular* or *plural* number is moſt conſpicuous in my periods, and thus indulged with a grammatical liberty I ſhall proceed.

3. A repreſentative ſpeaks as an individual, but 30,000 *(b)* conceive the ſentiments of his heart, pronounce the words from his mouth, and ſanction his public adminiſtration. Great are the conſequences of his operations, therefore great ſhould be the abilities, caution and integrity of ſuch a man. If a perſon exalted to this ſtation reflects deeply on the duties of it, and on his obligations to his conſtituents, he will be ſo aſtoniſhed at their weight and importance, as to think himſelf *almoſt* inadequate to ſuch an arduous taſk, even with

(b) Fed. Conſtit. Art. I, Sect. 2.

The number of Repreſentatives ſhall not exceed one for every thirty thouſand, &c. &c.

with all the aid of human capacity. In this elevated ſphere, great abilities are ſometimes unequal, application unſucceſsful, and circumſpection diſappointed. It is an office as honourable as laborious, flattering as enviable, and, in a word, important as it is difficult to fill with univerſal applauſe.

4. Among ſome refined politicians, I heard it often debated: whether a repreſentative is to ſpeak his own ſentiments, or thoſe of his conſtituents. Jacobine ſocieties were not known at the time of ſuch political diſquiſitions, and philoſophy was then logically practiſed, and wiſdom as well as impartial reaſoning prevailed inſtead of folly and enthuſiaſm. I confeſs, I have derived ſome improvement from the different opinions and arguments diſplayed on both ſides, which only ſerved, however, to confirm my ſentiments in my former political creed. I hope, therefore, that the mention of the *pros* and *cons*, will not be unacceptable.

5. The

5. The ſupporters of the firſt queſtion, ſtated that the people being unacquainted with the requiſites and character of a candidate, approve his principles by his legal election and appointment to the rank of Repreſentative of the People, and therefore concludes, he is entitled to ſpeak his own ſentiments, which are always to be approved and well received by his electors. They have alſo added, that man is free to think what he pleaſes, and that, as a Republican, he has a right to exerciſe ſuch a privilege in the moſt ample manner, becauſe if the ſtation of a Delegate reſtrained the freedom of his thoughts, and the communication of them, it would check and tend to deſtroy natural liberty.

6. Viewing the above reflections in a ſuperficial point of view, they may appear ſatisfactory to ſome Readers, but if *intention* and *circumſtances* are deeply conſidered, the other ſide of the queſtion will be highly preferable.

7. In the firſt place it was objected, that, though the people elected a perſon properly

properly qualified to repreſent them, this election was an approbation of the diſpoſition, principles and ſentiments of the candidate from *appearance*, and not *reality*; that is to ſay, they were prepoſſeſſed by the former in expectation of the latter, but as they were not able to diſcover the ſentiments of his ſoul, of courſe they were not bound to the reality, when only acquainted with the appearance. A further argument took place, repreſenting that an individual may appear what he really is not; that previous to his election he might have impoſed himſelf on his conſtituents as a Republican, and ſoon after have changed his ſentiments, and thus by ſuch duplicity the public expectation is diſappointed, and the general welfare injured inſtead of being promoted. From theſe remarks it may be concluded, that it is the duty of a Repreſentative to ſpeak thoſe ſentiments, which raiſed him to his condition and rendered him worthy of the public truſt; that ſuch ſentiments, whether permanent or changeable, were uniform with thoſe

thoſe of the electors at that moment, and therefore they are ſtrictly to be attended to, as the moſt ſure method of obtaining the public applauſe. Finally, that Liberty is by no means infringed in the conveyance of free and popular ſentiments, and, above all, that liberty is not inconſiſtent with duty, unleſs it degenerates into licentiouſneſs. Thus far proceeded the debates till pure Patriotiſm declared in favour of theſe, who were of opinion that a Repreſentative ſhould ſpeak the language of his Electors.

8. The People will certainly approve what is moſt conducive to their intereſt, conſequently no public character can gain the popular eſteem, but by faithfully promoting it. The diſcovery of the public will, ought to be his conſtant ſtudy, the guide of his abilities, and the main object of his exertions. No paſſion, prejudice or party-ſpirit ſhould influence his public conduct, as no real advantage to his country can be derived from ſuch human foibles. That wiſdom beſtowed by Heaven on mankind,

mankind, was never intended as a donation conferred on a few individuals, but as an ample preſent granted with an unſparing hand to that collective body, *SOCIETY at large*; a Nation therefore claims from the learned as well as from the ignorant an unremitting attention, ſubmiſſion and obedience. The Community is beſt acquainted with her own wants, and can beſt provide for them through the medium of Repreſentation by conſulting with, and adviſing her Delegates. ¿ Shall theſe then attempt to neglect her requiſitions, or become deaf to her inſtructions? ¿ Shall a Deputy be ſo raſh as to inſult his ſovereign Country, by ſuppoſing that his views are more extenſive than thoſe of his numerous fellow Citizens? Let him reflect, that good actions are ever remembered; that an individual is ignorant, while he thinks Society to be ſo; and that gratitude obliges us to pay attention to benefactors and friends. To be on the ſide of the people is to know the duty of a public Officer: to be an advocate for the public neceſſities

(for

(for thoſe of the poor in particular) is to act like a tender father to his children, and by enacting ſound and ſalutary laws, a Legiſlator gains credit.

9. During five years reſidence in this Country, I had time to obſerve with a degree of aſtoniſhment ſome Repreſentatives of the People, who in the moment of election were highly admired, but afterwards, having perhaps fruſtrated the ſanguine expectation of their conſtituents, were ſhewn ſome marks of public diſapprobation. The remembrance of ſuch unpleaſing tranſactions, brings to my mind ſome reflections on the particular ſtation of a public character, and the more I conſider it, I am involved in a ſcene of intricate mazes. Diveſted of partiality for any conduct in queſtion or private character, I ſhall not become his advocate, if perhaps he were incapable of being his own; but I muſt however remark, that in point of political diſquiſition, there is an open field for argument on either ſide of the queſtion; and as a candid writer is happy

to explain difficulties, or anſwer any objections that may be made to his mode of reaſoning, I beg leave to ſubmit to the conſideration of my Readers ſome inſtances, in which the People may often miſunderſtand the conduct of their Delegates.

10. Circumſtances alter every moment; and as it is the province of Government to mark with a piercing eye every change and alteration, and wiſely provide for them; it ſeems that circumſtances poſitively influence, and cauſe variations in the public adminiſtration: like that mariner, who directs the courſe of the veſſel according to the violence of tempeſts, ſerenity of calms, and the propitious or unfavourable breath of inconſtant winds, without loſing ſight of the deſtined port to which he is bound. By theſe alterations, the Nation at large is ſometimes unacquainted with her political ſituation. Thoſe who know it, are only perſons in authority, and the public good often obliges them to concert meaſures, and form reſolutions

reſolutions in ſecret. This way of tranſacting buſineſs is ſupported by ſound policy, not that kind which uſed in deſpotic Courts and Cabinets, but that policy peculiar to a Democratic Commonwealth. Under theſe circumſtances, it is more than probable that the people do not perceive in *ſome inſtances*, their true intereſt, and in ſuch a caſe the judicious will be inclined to believe, that they are leſs capable of diſtinguiſhing the merit of their agents: nay, they will frequently give a premature judgment on the conduct of their Repreſentatives. ¿ Is it then to be wondered at, if the moſt virtuous member of Congreſs appears ſome times in the public eye quite different from what his real diſpoſition is? ¿ Is there any novelty in obſerving ingratitude flouriſh, miſunderſtanding occur, and wrong affect to be right? Experience teaches the Man of the World to forego his ſurpriſe on theſe occaſions, at the ſame time convincing him, that ignorance is the main ſpring of ſuch contradictions, which cannot be entirely eradicated from the

the human boſom, unleſs ignorance be totally baniſhed from among mankind.

11. Every public Officer's conduct is expoſed to the cenſure of good and bad Citizens, and is, therefore, liable to miſrepreſentation, as hinted above. The greater his ſenſibility, the more poignant his ſufferings; he muſt, however, bear this ſtroke of fortune with reſignation, becauſe ſuch is his lot, and no other reſource is left him, but calm forbearance. His genuine attachment to the public cauſe, will be his greateſt comfort, and time will gradually diſplay the integrity of his conduct, and reſtore him to the public confidence. Secrets do not laſt long in democracy, and if their object be pure, the popular murmurs will ſoon be huſhed into ſilence. Let him meet the diſapprobation of his fellow citizens until the publication of ſecret meaſures inform them more fully of the public affairs, and then he will certainly regain that popular favour, by which he was choſen Repreſentative. Such pleaſing conſequences are the

the reward prepared for worthy Delegates, whoſe actions are juſt and whoſe feelings are eſtranged to any other ſentiments, than thoſe of the *Amorpatriæ*. Theſe certainly cannot expect to be replaced by others, becauſe the intereſt of their Country was preferred to their own, nor did they embrace any ſelfiſh advantages from ſecret meaſures, to inſure the ſucceſs of their private intereſt. They will not be under any apprehenſions of returning to their Diſtrict, as they did not ſhew themſelves enthuſiaſts, or corrupted partiſans of foreign Courts. Finally, they will not incur the infamy of public odium, becauſe they knew their duty, and honeſtly performed it. Though the people may appear ſometimes too haſty in proceedings of this kind, they are perfectly juſtifiable in ſhewing a juſt reſentment to thoſe, whom they have known by long experience and forbearance to have betrayed their confidence. ¡ How wounded muſt be the feelings of a degraded Repreſentative, who is politically dead to honor, friendſhip and confidence!

confidence! Such is the end of the corrupt, whilſt an honeſt man enjoys the congratulations, attachment and ſupport of his fellow-citizens. In his public ſtation he is happy, becauſe he feels content and by rendering himſelf eminently uſeful to a grateful people, he is ſatisfied in obtaining their applauſe.

12. Having thus glanced at the qualifications and duties of a Repreſentative, it could not be amiſs to reconcile the abſtract remarks with our actual circumſtances, and by taking a cloſer view of our Legiſlature, render at the ſame time the ſubject more practical and intelligible to every capacity of citizens.

13. As the excellence of a Government (its Conſtitution being confeſſedly pure) conſiſts chiefly in the faithful execution of its principles, my Reader will think me under the neceſſity at this period of proving, that our Congreſs compleatly performs that duty, which it owes to its conſtituents. From that favourable point of view, in which candor induces me to behold

behold the Federal Government (from the peruſal of the 2d Chapter of this production) the queſtion ſeems properly adapted to the preſent; but as my object is very diſtant from making a minute and general examination of the reſolutions and laws enacted by this branch of the Government, in order to remove every doubt on the ſubject, I hope that the unavoidable prolixity in which I may be involved, will ſufficiently apologize for me on this occaſion. It would indeed be as eaſy for me to diſcuſs, as it is either in part or in the whole, favourable to my purpoſe; I ſhall, therefore, prevent any material diſappointment, from hurting the expectations of my Reader, by endeavouring to ſatisfy him in a more conciſe way. I have been taught to juſtify a prepoſition by refuting the objections brought againſt it, and in ſeveral public philoſophical debates, my attempts were often crowned with ſucceſs; conſcious, therefore, that the genius and exertions of our critics have brought to light all matters, which could ſuffer the

ſlighteſt

ſlighteſt marks of cenſure, I ſhall ſilence an alarming complaint made againſt the proceedings of our Federal Legiſlature, as it meant to reproach a *parliamentary* tranſgreſſion of duty.

14. The unqueſtionable proof of patriotiſm and candor given to the people by the Houſe of Repreſentatives, by granting the daily publication of its tranſactions, left no chance to the miſchievous ſchemes of malevolent writers; the Senate, however, has not enjoyed ſimilar ſatisfaction. I recollect to have read in the public newſpapers the moſt ſevere and unjuſt ſtrictures on its proceedings. Anti-federal cavillers, unable to find fault in a fair way on the wiſdom of ſuch a reſpectable Aſſembly, turned all their invectives againſt the *doors* of its room. Upon the Senate's being ſhut, diſſatisfaction raiſed her voice, and louder cenſure followed, but ſoon after ſilence enſued, on account, I ſuppoſe, of the Doors being incapable, or perhaps unwilling to make an anſwer. ¿ Would not a philoſopher ſmile at the ſtrangeneſs of

ſuch

ſuch an attack? But let ſober enquiry vanquiſh miſrepreſentation.

15. It is commonly admitted, that public bodies ought to officiate in a public manner, becauſe the nature of their buſineſs ſtrictly requires it; but at the ſame time it is indiſputable, that a real good, either *publicly* or *ſecretly* promoted, will never fail to produce ſalutary effects. If I be not miſtaken, I remember in more than one inſtance of having ſeen conveyed to the people, through the different Gazettes, the daily tranſactions of the Senate, while on the other hand I have frequently obſerved the galleries of the Houſe of Repreſentatives cleared; admitting now, for a moment, that the greateſt portion of their time paſſes away in private and ſolitary diſcuſſions, it never can produce any legitimate objection againſt their performance of duty, nor can the liberality of the lower Houſe, in this reſpect, be a matter of reproach on the upper.

16. Although the tranſactions of the Senate are commonly of the ſame nature

of thoſe of the Houſe of Repreſentatives, many exceptions may be admitted. The Conſtitution has entruſted to the former a particular charge, in which the latter have no right to interfere: for inſtance, the "making of treaties, the appointment of "ambaſſadors, other public miniſters and "conſuls, judges of the Supreme Court, "and all other officers of the United "States" *(c)*. It may be obſerved that the Preſident bears the greateſt part of ſuch a truſt *(d)*, but the clauſe *by and with the advice and conſent of the Senate*, makes a neceſſary and indiſpenſable duty of ſuch a body to conſider, approve or reject any propoſal on that ſcore, recommended by the Preſident. Taking into ſerious conſideration the nature of ſuch affairs, any ſenſible man will eaſily admit, that *occaſional* ſecrecy and reſerve can never exceed the bounds of propriety. The admiſſion of the People while new treaties are in their very birth propoſed and debated, would be

(c) See Fed. Conſtit. Art. II, Sect. 2.
(d) - - *Ibid.* - - - *in princip.*

be dangerous, impolitic and unneceſſary. It would be *dangerous*, becauſe the People being compoſed of good and bad citizens, the *infant* ſpeculation of public concerns might be deſtroyed in embryo, if not at leaſt impeded. It would be *impolitic*, becauſe the circumſpection with which the general welfare ſhould be promoted, would ſeem to be neglected and even checked. In ſhort, it would be *unneceſſary*, becauſe what is dangerous and impolitic, is itſelf uſeleſs and beneath any degree of attention.

17. Nor is it leſs improper to vote in public for the appointment of Ambaſſadors, Public Miniſters, Conſuls, Judges, &c. A crowded Gallery has more influence upon the deciſion of Members, than a great many Citizens are aware of. A Senator would ſcarcely refuſe a vote to a Candidate, while his mind was inclined to favour another of greater merit and capacity; of courſe a party-ſpirit would ariſe, and cruſh inſenſibly that freedom and zeal, which characteriſe true Republicans.

Demerit

Demerit would eaſily ſuperſede merit, and offices of the greateſt importance fall caſually (as no ſteadineſs can be allowed to appointments of the kind) into the hand of incapable perſons, who might cauſe more real injury, than ſervice to the Nation. To this evident hazard, the utmoſt importance of our political exiſtence would be expoſed, and the conſequences would not differ from the manner of the tranſaction.

18. I requeſt my Reader will reflect on theſe obſervations, and judge within himſelf, whether flattery or candour, has given riſe to my ſentiments on this ſubject. For my own part I am ſincerely of opinion, that the Senate has more reaſon to be reſerved, than the Houſe of Repreſentatives. It is indeed a manifeſt inſult to their wiſdom, to ſuppoſe, that they ſhould make a myſtery of what has not nor can have the leaſt ſhadow of it, and ingratitude only can attempt to brand their patriotiſm with the degrading terms, *anti-republican policy*. No enlightened citizen will

will ever form ſuch ungenerous ſuſpicions. Our Senators are perfectly acquainted with their duty, their integrity was well eſtabliſhed previouſly to their elections, and the ſolemn oath which preceded their entrance into office, muſt create confidence in the breaſt of every good American. This is what they ought to expect, and if the Nation requires from the Senate the innocent ſatisfaction of beholding them ſitting, I truſt, they will be cheerfully diſpoſed to admit the concurrence of their fellow-citizens, when the nature of affairs can ſuffer no inconvenience.

19. Nothing can be more intricate to our Critics, and even to ſome reaſonable friends of Federaliſm, than the word *Exciſe*, expreſſed in the powers veſted in Congreſs *(e)*. I cannot paſs over in ſilence the diſapprobation, that ſome enlightened Stateſmen ſhewed on this head; I ſuppoſe, however, that they did not diſapprove the Exciſe-

(e) Fed. Conſtit. Art. I, Sect. 8.

The Congreſs ſhall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, impoſt and EXCISES, &c.

Exciſe-law inaſmuch as it forms a part of that decorum, which conſtitutes the Sovereignty of our Congreſs, but on account of the diſagreeable conſequences, that followed the exerciſe of ſuch a power *(f)*.

20. Aſtoniſhing

(f) By virtue of this authority (whoſe conſequences perhaps eſcaped the penetration of our patriotic Convention) an Act paſſed in June 1794, laying duties on manufactured ſnuff, refined ſugar and diſtilled ſpirits of American produce. As the two former objects of taxation affected trading and rich people, no oppoſition (though lawful remonſtrances were made) appeared in the eaſtern parts; it had not however the ſame ſucceſs in the weſtern counties, which being deſtitute of thoſe reſources peculiar to other parts, did mortally reſent the law as oppreſſive to their induſtry, and tyrannical to their low circumſtances and local poverty. An Inſurrection of courſe took place, in which ſome ambitious leaders, taking advantage of ſuch a pretext, deluded their adherents in ſuch a degree as to make them loſe ſight of reaſon and order, hence the moſt violent meaſures were taken againſt the defenceleſs Exciſe-Officers. Houſes were burnt, property deſtroyed, ſome perſons infamouſly treated, and ſeveral baniſhed. Such unwarrantable proceedings determined the Preſident of the United States to call for their ſuppreſſion upon the ſtrength of the Nation, which took place accordingly, and the expedition was crowned with ſucceſs

20. Aſtoniſhing as they may appear to our Freedom, and incredible to Poſterity, I am concerned to own that ſuch was the fact; and ſince the late inſurrection has rendered this matter of a more ſerious nature than had been ever foreſeen, agreeably to my former intentions *(g)*, I think it worthy of ſome obſervation, in which I will endeavour to be as conciſe as poſſible.

21. But before I enter on the importance of this ſubject, I requeſt my Reader will admit ſome previous reflections on the aforeſaid authority, delegated to our Repreſentative Body.

22. If the people repoſe a full confidence in their Legiſlature, (as they ought, and ſuch, I firmly believe, is the caſe in the the American Commonwealth), no power ſhould alarm them nor ſhould they be diſſatiſfied at the exerciſe of it. A SOVEREIGN ASSEMBLY like Congreſs, deſerves to hold

ſucceſs by the generous ſacrifice of the eaſe and intereſt, together with the exertions of every ſincere Republican and well diſpoſed Citizen.

(g) See Chap. II. § 33 quot. *(i)*.

hold ſuch power, becauſe it is to be ſuppoſed, that their wiſdom and integrity will make ſuch uſe of it, as is conſonant to the welfare of the people, and not otherwiſe. It is not the authority (of whatever kind and magnitude, which may be conceived in a Republican Government) that is oppreſſive, but the miſapplication or improper uſe of it. Although the power of laying on an exciſe was conferred without ſpecifying the exact circumſtances, which rendered it proper and juſtifiable, I am perfectly convinced that the general intention of the people, was that of bearing an exciſe, when reaſonable, urgent and unavoidable. Under this ſuppoſition, ſeeing the exciſe-ſyſtem carried into execution, it appears to me that the main queſtion ought to be: not, whether the exciſe power is a proper or improper authority, but, whether the American finances neceſſarily required its introduction, or not. This is the point which ought to be diſcuſſed, and no other. Had I an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the real ſtate of the finances,

ces, I would not heſitate to gratify my fellow-citizens with my candid opinion on it, but as the ſervices of *Strangers (b)* appear to be rejected in ſome Federal Offices, my Reader muſt indulge my ſilence on this ſubject, which is truly delicate for a cautious Writer: I cannot, however, help ſaying, (and I believe the people in general will admit it) that if the Treaſury Department diſcovered no other reſources, to enable them to riſe the funds, which the

(*b*) Such was the expreſſion uſed by the preſent Secretary of State of the United States (and it is expected the other Officers have the ſame inſtructions) in anſwer to the applications, made laſt ſpring of 1794 by the Author (through the medium of a reſpectable Merchant) for an employment in his office. It is certain that he is an Italian born, but neither the American laws nor any perſon acquainted with them, could at that time look upon him as a Stranger, but as a Citizen and an adopted Son ;* the ſaid Gentleman, however, took him for ſuch, perhaps on account of the applicant not being naturally converſant with the *Britiſh* Dialect.

[* The 22d July 1790, the Author arrived in this city, and in May 1791 took the oath of allegiance

the general defence and engagements of the Nation required at that time, than thoſe of an Exciſe, the Exciſe-law is juſt and equitable; and if ſuch was not really the caſe, the Committee of Report, or the Secretary of the Treaſury, as better inſtructed upon the particular circumſtances, did certainly miſtake the *ways* and *means* in their calculations. Having thus ſtated my candid opinion on this matter, I ſhall proceed to convey that of the Exciſe opponents.

23. "Exciſe (ſay they) is an invention of "deſpotic cabals and impoſition. It marks "a thirſty avarice, peculiar to tyrannical am-"bition and prodigality. It is a declared ene-"my to the induſtry, trade and flouriſhing "progreſs of a free people. That impoſt and "taxes

before Mr. Barclay, the then Mayor of Philadelphia. In Auguſt 1792, he was commiſſioned a ſworn Interpreter for the State of Pennſylvania, in which capacity he ſerved the Public, and eſpecially the States' Office of the United States, until the month of April 1793 when he reſigned his commiſſion. ¿ Can ſuch a man be conſidered with propriety a *Stranger* in the month of March 1794?

" taxes may be laid on the importation of
" foreign and exportation of domeſtic mer-
" chandize, on the ſales of the former, the
" heads of inhabitants, land and viſible as
" well as inviſible (provided it be real) pro-
" perty, and on the ſeveral articles, which
" the community at large (the poor in par-
" ticular) ſhould not heavily feel, Govern-
" ment, and a Republican one, eſpecially,
" have and ought to have the right to lay and
" eſtabliſh for its ſupport; but that an im-
" poſt upon the products manufactured and
" diſtilled for the uſe of the ſame manufac-
" turers, diſtillers and the people who raiſe
" them, ſhould be thought reaſonable, is as
" extravagant as oppreſſive. It may be urg-
" ed, that the Exciſe appears only ſo to a
" ſmall portion of the community, hence
" no matter what they ſay or object; but a
" little ſenſe of humanity brings us to reflect
" likewiſe, that the oppoſition of the *mi-*
" *nority* does not prove the juſtneſs and
" propriety of the impoſt. There is no
" doubt, but that the reſiſtance offered by a
" minority to any law, is and ought to be

" conſidered

" conſidered as unlawful and dangerous;
" but notwithſtanding this the juſtification
" of ſuch a law is always ſuſpended *(i)*."

24. " A law to be acceptable muſt be
" good in itſelf, and not becauſe the major-
" ity is in its favour. In being really and
" plainly ſo, it would be a premature aſſer-
" tion, nor could it be expected that any
" portion of the community would oppoſe
" it, if reaſon prevails. So great are the re-
" ſources of the American Commonwealth,
" as to do completely what is neceſſary and
" more, without minding ſuch trifles *(l)*.

" Even

(i) " Leaving the real merit of the law out of the
" queſtion, they make an obſervation on the *right* of the
" majority, ſo boldly preached up by perſons of ſuperfi-
" cial underſtanding.

" The lawfulneſs of the majority in binding the mi-
" nority, is not on account of the former being on the
" right ſide, but becauſe it forms a party greater in num-
" ber, or what we call the ſtronger. Is there any rea-
" ſon in this ſuperiority of ſtrength, or ſhall it be ſaid
" that two men are in the right in preference to one,
" becauſe the former are two and the latter one only?

(l) " It has been aſſerted and even foreſeen, that the
" Exciſe would afford but a ſmall revenue in the weſtern
" counties

" Even in caſes of extremity, the Exciſe
" may be paſſed over. There are immenſe
" reſources in the funding ſyſtem, bank-
" ſtock, and immoveable property, which
" yield riches almoſt equal to the accumu-
" lated wealth of any of the European Deſ-
" pots. In taxing riches, riches will be the
" produce, but if poverty is hunted down
" as an object of taxation, nothing but an
" unproductive reſiſtance can be expected,
" as verified in the philoſophical axiom:
" NEMO DAT QUOD NON HABET—*Nobody*
" *can give what he has not*. The people are
" all one, conſidered in part or in toto, and
" partiality alone can induce a government to
" oppreſs decidedly a *part* of the Nation, un-
" der the ſuppoſed ſanction of the *whole(m)*.
" Republicaniſm

" counties, even admitting it ſhould be fully complied
" with. This reflection therefore appears to be natural
" in the Inſurgents, that if a thing is odious and at the
" ſame time of little conſequence, their animoſity againſt
" it muſt increaſe in proportion to its frivolity."

(*m*) " Several citizens of ſlight underſtanding and
" even newſpaper writers, have ſuppoſed from the ala-
" crity of the inhabitants of different States in turning
" out

" Republicaniſm muſt be equal, impartial " and juſt. On theſe terms, it may lay the " ſolid baſis of its peace, improvement and " happineſs. If it deviates from them, mur- " murs, oppoſition and civil war, will be the " dreadful and inevitable conſequences."

25. Thus far have the effuſions of my pen gratified the feelings of the Inſurgents, and it is only to the real impartiality of it that they owe ſuch a digreſſion. Nothing

" out to ſuppreſs the weſtern inſurrection, that the ma- " jority appear to be in favour of the Exciſe; their hy- " potheſis, however, is quite inconſiſtent, becauſe the A- " merican citizens are enlightened enough to be guided " by a more important object. The grand intention was " to preſerve peace, order and government. The queſ- " tion of the propriety or impropriety of the Exciſe-law, " was looked upon as an ample field for political diſcuſ- " ſion, admiſſible of much argument *pro* and *con*; it " was, therefore, thought unreaſonable in the moment, " and unworthy the conſideration, that (on account of " the dreadful oppoſition) at firſt occupied their minds. " This conception which appears well grounded, ren- " ders rather doubtful the conjecture, whether the ſame " oppoſers of the inſurgents approve unanimouſly the " Exciſe-law, or not. Time will beſt decide the queſ- " tion."

Nothing would I conceal from the judgment of my Readers, not even what is directly oppoſite to my private ſyſtem; nay, I am willing to allow in ſome of the foregoing pages, that I am at a loſs to find a complete anſwer to their objections, yet my knowledge of general juriſprudence leads me to perceive, that if the enemies of the Exciſe-law are reaſonable in certain points, they are certainly wrong in ſeveral others of greater importance.

26. Law plainly means the will of the Nation; if we then ſuppoſe that ſuch a Nation be ſplit in two unequal parties, and one of them holds the legitimate right of ſanctioning and enforcing the execution of ſuch a law, the queſtion naturally ariſes, ¿To which of the two ſides does ſuch a *right* belong?

27. Ex hypotheſis, one is the *majority* and the other the *minority*; now, then, either it depends on the former, and the latter muſt ſubmit: or it belongs to the latter, and in this caſe the minority will be

be greater *(n)* than the majority. To maintain ſuch a ſtrange doctrine, it muſt be neceſſarily proved, that *four* is more than *five*, and in that caſe I might eaſily figure the progreſs of ſuch calculators, if they were plunged in the depths of extenſive commerce.

28. ¡How deluded were our weſtern brethren to loſe ſight of ſuch a plain, and ſtriking obſervation! It is commonly believed, that it was not the people who violently oppoſed the Exciſe-law, but execrable leaders and bribed agents, who thus impoſed upon their neighbours. They ſhewed themſelves ſo miſchievous and deceitful, as to attempt the clandeſtine contrivance of their infamous private ſchemes on

(n) In order to form a plain idea of the real value of each of the two parties, it is proper to ſuppoſe that the minority is compoſed of one third, and the majority of two thirds. By this account it will appear that if the former has a power, the latter muſt hold two, and each of theſe will be equal to that of the former. If, therefore, the minority has the *right* in queſtion, one third part will be greater than two thirds, agreeably to the above expreſſion.

on the very principle of contradiction. ¿How could they expect to ſucceed by concerting ſuch wrong meaſures? ¡Alas! their malignity was only a blind and flattering dependance!

29. The majority in claiming the ſubmiſſion of the minority is reaſonable, and juſt. It is a right founded in their greater number, as well as greater virtues. Experience ſhews us, that the majority is commonly poſſeſſed with firmneſs, wiſdom and integrity ſuperior to the minority; if therefore one of the two parties muſt be wrong, I ſincerely believe that the majority is always in the right. It follows of courſe, that when any law is ſolemnly enacted, though diſliked or even burthenſome to a ſmall portion of the community, it is the duty of all Republicans, (and eſpecially thoſe concerned) to ſubmit cheerfully to it. There being no doubt but that reſiſtance to ſuch a law is the main ſource of civil war, ſlaughter and deveſtation, it may not be improper to call upon the attention of the diſcontented minority to the following queſtions.

30. ¿ Is it better to pay an impoſt, or to waſte large and conſiderable property in a prodigal oppoſition ? ¿ Is it preferable to give up a portion of wealth or even of the principal ſtock, or loſe the bleſſings of peace and general protection ? ¿ Is the whole amount of the Exciſe revenue, equal in value to the bloodſhed of a civil war, or does the abolition of it deſerve even the loſs of a ſingle life ? I will commiſerate the ſituation of the weſtern Inſurgents ſo far as to allow, that the contribution required from them is very diſtreſſing ; but ¿ are not the oppoſite conſequences ſo dreadful and deſtructive, as to render even the moſt compleat ſucceſs diſagreeable ? Let Senſe, and the Amorpatriæ decide the queſtion. Let every true patriot bear the weight of his ſituation in the ſcale of civil ſociety, and his mildneſs diſappoint the ſanguinary expectations of external, as well as internal enemies. Let him finally reflect, that there can be on earth no Government whoſe laws are ſo judiciouſly calculated, as completely to

ſatisfy

ſatisfy all the various diſpoſitions and c pacities of mankind, becauſe Congreſs a well as any other Legiſlative body whatever, are not Angels, but Men.

31. With a ſincere reliance on the wiſdom, integrity and patriotiſm of our Federal Repreſentation, I hope that in caſe the amount of the Exciſe (if neceſſary to the credit and proſperity of the Nation) can be collected in a manner leſs alarming and diſtreſſing to the poorer claſs of the people, it will be generouſly repealed; mean while any portion of the Communinity, diſſenting from this, have no other reſource than in the *right* ſanctioned by our Conſtitution *(o)*, as the only proper method to moderate the exerciſe of a power, which is in itſelf legally veſted and conſtitutionally given.

32. According to the tenor of the preſent chapter, I ſhall pay ſome attention to the Executive. There are many officers who

(o) Amendments to the Fed. Conſt. Art. 3. Congreſs ſhall make no law reſpecting, &c. &c. and to petition the Government for a redreſs of grievances.

who exerciſe ſuch a power, but the Repreſentative of that Department is the firſt Magiſtrate under the honourable title of PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, he being elected by the People *(p)*, the others on the contrary acting as appointed by him, under the ſanction of the Senate, as we have already obſerved *(q)*.

33. The more the public authority is interwoven with its confidence, the greater we muſt judge the capacity of the perſon who exerciſes it, and we cannot form an idea of the qualifications required in a candidate for the Preſidency, without recurring to that extent of authority, with which our Federal Conſtitution thought proper to entruſt ſuch an officer. In order, therefore, to render this obſervation more conſpicuous, I ſhall introduce occaſional remarks in the courſe of theſe pages, without harraſſing the attention of my Reader with

(*p*) Some objection might probably ariſe againſt this expreſſion, but I hope my Reader will be convinced of its propriety, when I ſhall treat upon Elections.

(*q*) See § 16.

with prolixity on ſubjects of little importance.

34. That the Preſident be appointed by the Federal Conſtitution *(r)* as "Commander in chief of the army and navy "of the United States, and of the Militia "of the ſeveral States, when called into "the actual ſervice of the United States," nothing can be more proper and juſt. The Head of ſo extenſive and powerful a Commonwealth as ours, is entitled to hold a truſt of ſuch vaſt importance, whether he be endowed with greater political than military abilities, or, *vice verſa*, whether he be a greater ſoldier than a ſtateſman. Though it may be conceived the ſummit of power, when occaſion requires the exerciſe of it, I look upon it rather an *honour* annexed to his eminent ſituation, than any thing elſe. The Preſident, further, has the authority of requiring "the opinion in "writing of the principal officers in each "of the executive departments, upon any "ſubject relating to the duties of their reſpective

(*r*) See Fed. Conſt. Art. II, Sect. 2.

" reſpective offices" *(s)*. Here, my Reader will obſerve, the precaution of our Government in preventing any difficulty, that might impede the operations of its principal officer. Far from believing him infallible, the wiſdom of the Conſtitution foreſaw, that he was only a man, and (tho' great and virtuous he might be), yet he was ſubject to the advice of his inferiors. It ſignifies by this, that while the Preſident deſerves to be highly reſpected and honoured, he is conſidered to be, as he is in reality, incapable of exerciſing an abſolute power, which might preclude the benefit of advice or controul. " The pow-
" er to grant reprieves and pardons for of-
" fences againſt the United States" *(t)*, was never intended to require greater abilities than what can be ſuppoſed in a tender father towards his children, or a chief towards his people, whoſe attachment to him, the Conſtitution endeavoured to gain in

(*s*) Fed. Conſt. Art. II, Sect. 2.
(*t*) - *Ibid.*

in his favour, by the *ſtock of indulgence and generoſity*, which it appropriated for his own liberal diſpenſation.

35. The clauſe which immediately follows *(u)*, opens a ſpacious field for obſervation, adequate to the variety of powers veſted in the Preſident, but as they are ſtrongly recommended to the ſerious conſideration and controul of the Senate, I beg leave to refer to my remarks in the preceding paragraph. The public confidence, notwithſtanding, increaſes in favour of the Preſident by authoriſing him "to fill up "all vacancies that may happen during "the receſs of the Senate." In their abſence there is a neceſſity of his exerciſing both the powers of his council, and his own. The period, however, of ſuch appointments is wiſely limited to the end of the enſuing ſeſſion, becauſe what might have appeared proper in the judgment of the Preſident, might need alteration in the ſuperior wiſdom of a collective body.

36. The

(*u*) Fed. Conſt. Art. II. Sect. 2.

36. The ſucceeding ſection (*v*) declares to the people, and preſcribes to the firſt Executive officer the indiſpenſable duties of his ſtation. A citizen thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of the Commonwealth, as the Preſident is conſidered and allowed to be, can find no material difficulty in their execution. The information that Congreſs from time to time expect from him *on the ſtate of the Union*, and the recommendation of *ſuch meaſures to their conſideration as he ſhall judge neceſſary and expedient*, require the moſt ſerious application, but when we conſider that the receſs of Congreſs, fills up the greateſt part of the year, and that numerous ſecretaries and tranſcribers are to be found, our ideas of exceſſive labour and fatigue can be eaſily reconciled.

37. In order to avoid interruption in our remarks on the duties of ſtation, I ſhall paſs over the authority given him for convening and adjourning the Houſes of Congreſs, and ſhall proceed to notice his reception

(*v*) Fed. Conſt. Art. II. Sect. 3.

reception of Ambaſſadors and other public Miniſters. It is certainly a command that which the Conſtitution gives to the Preſident in the expreſſion, *he ſhall receive* them; yet the order is agreeable, becauſe while its performance conſiſts in a ſingle compliment, it is ſurely a ſatisfaction to hear an adequate anſwer from the gentleman ſo addreſſed. There is no doubt, but the foreign Envoys are perſonages already minutely inſtructed in all the ceremonies and etiquettes of a Court, but if the Preſident is either pleaſed or indifferent to their nice punctilios, his ſtation needs no apology for accepting or declining them. The Federal Government is too plain in its tranſactions and pure in its principles, to eſtabliſh formal rules for ſuch a reception, and leaves ſuch decorum to the diſcretion of its firſt Magiſtrate. The faithful execution of the laws is wholly committed to his care, and is undoubtedly a truſt of the higheſt importance; it conſiſts, however, in giving orders with a kind of vigilance and zeal, which cauſes an equal trouble to

that of ſigning the commiſſions for all the officers of the United States, in which his duties appear to be concluded.

38. The laſt Section of the 2d Article cautions him againſt abuſes, &c. and by ſetting over his adminiſtration the National juſtice, his perſon is declared reſponſible for the public welfare, and he is looked upon as *Preſident* if juſt, as a *Father* if faithful, and a *public ſervant* if guilty of any breach of duty.

39. By the preceding obſervations on the power and duties of our Chief Magiſtrate, it may probably be conjectured, that ſuch an Office is as eaſy as the ſalary annexed to it, is liberal *(x)*. When a man is raiſed to ſuch an eminent ſituation, and perſuading himſelf that his own renowned merit rather than the National generoſity, is the main ſpring of his elvation wiſhes

(x) By an Act of the firſt Congreſs, paſſed the 24th September, 1789, twenty five-thouſand dollars were allowed annually to the Preſident in full compenſation of his ſervices. (See Laws of the United States, Chap. XIX.)

wiſhes to turn a public life into a ſtate of luxurious eaſe and indulgence, he certainly can do it at pleaſure, and ſucceed to the completion of his deſires; the facility, however, with which he can be ſuppoſed to perform the duties of his office, can have no weight in the ſcale of human judgment for his deficiency either in virtues or qualifications. If a contrary mode of reaſoning ſhould be purſued, it would be erroneous and premature, becauſe the office in queſtion is as important for its conſequences, as it is reſpectable for its eminence. The moſt extenſive talents, the utmoſt activity, will find in it an ample ſcope for employment; it is, therefore, reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that in the precedency the greateſt human abilities or merit can never overtop the pinnacle of the ſtation. The following paragraph will comfirm my Reader in the propriety of this aſſertion.

40. Under a different head of our Conſtitution (z) we diſcover another power veſted

(z) Fed. Conſt. Art. I, Sect. 7, ſecond clauſe.

veſted in the Preſident of the United States, which deſerves the greateſt attention. It is ſolemnly declared, that, "every bill "which ſhall have paſſed the Houſe of "Repreſentatives and the Senate, ſhall, "before it become a law, be preſented to "the Preſident of the United States," who is at liberty to approve, or reject it (1). Here we muſt certainly acknowledge in him an authority as extenſive as the conſequences, which ariſe immediately from his refuſal. A bill ſo rejected is returned to the Legiſlature, and if, with his ſanction, the majority only had a power to paſs it into a law, his diſapprobation renders it neceſſary that two thirds of each Houſe ſhall be eſſentially required to confirm it as

(1) The Federal Government appears to have conſidered in this point the voice of the majority, ſince we perceive that few Conſtitutions only have been backward in granting ſimilar power to their firſt Magiſtrates, as can be obſerved in the following

Conſtitution of New-York, - - - Art. III.
" - - Maryland, - - - Sect. XXVI.
" - - Virginia, - - - - Clauſe 7 & 9.
" - - North-Carolina, - Sect. XVI.

as ſuch. A variety of opinions create diviſions, of courſe we ſhall ſee the Preſident on one ſide oppoſing, and the Senate with the Houſe of Repreſentatives on the other, inſiſting on their reſolution.

41. If authority is ſuppoſed to be ſupported by adequate abilities, the above oppoſition will undoubtedly lead us to think, that the Preſident's wiſdom is equal to the majority of both Houſes, or at leaſt to the ſurplus of members, which is conſtitutionally required to annul his refuſal. I am in great doubt whether my Reader will be ſo indulgent as to allow, that one man's penetration can be compared to the collective number of ſo many Repreſentatives. He will ſooner believe, I am ſure, that three diſtinct and equal perſons make one only, than that a ſingle individual makes at once twenty nine: yet ſuch is the authority, that the Preſident of the United States can conſtitutionally boaſt in America.

42. No extravagance, however, can be perceived in the ſpirit of our Federal Conſtitution

Conſtitution by the granting ſuch a power. Solid motives, which many cannot conceive, have induced the general Convention to adopt ſimilar arrangements. When I obſerve that a man may form ſubſtantial objections, which by numbers were never thought of, I diſcover indeed in the ſaid Conſtitution a firm inclination to give a fair chance to patriotiſm, wiſdom and integrity in public buſineſs, in order to ſecure the conſtant welfare of the Nation. We muſt ſuppoſe, that the Preſident of the United States, through duty or grateful attachment to the proſperity of America, will take into his moſt ſerious conſideration any law, which is to be approved, of courſe he will ſometimes object when his objections are neceſſary and uſeful. Whereas his diſapprobation on a bill cauſes ſo great an alteration as ſtated above, his remarks muſt certainly be of great importance, and admitting that a man of his character and high reputation (conſulted and adviſed by learned counſels) will not hazard objections,

which

which might prove frivolous and uſeleſs, we ſhall conclude that when the Preſident declines ſanctioning a bill (which ſeldom will happen) new reaſons unknown, and unforeſeen by Congreſs compel him to it, and therefore the conſtitutional *neceſſity* of requiring two thirds of each Houſe to confirm it as a law, is one of the moſt wiſe, cautious and excellent meaſures eſtabliſhed in the Federal Conſtitution.

43. The appropriations of public funds entruſted to the care and economy of the Preſident, confer on his Office occaſional powers. The performance of them requires ſtrict integrity, and a variety of channels, through which the ſtock is conveyed, his attention on this occaſion demands the greater vigilance, and patriotiſm. It is a kind of buſineſs that alſo demands delicacy, honour and conſcience in its execution. The fears of miſtakes, miſapplication, and cunning in the ſubſtitutes, agents, &c. is enough to try the virtues and foreſight of the moſt able Stateſman.

44. If

44. If the Executive Department is wiſe enough in the appointment of its officers, and theſe are equally honeſt in the performance of their reſpective duties, Government will excite no murmurs. The people will be content, and the ſucceſs of public affairs will be inſured; but if the Officers acting under the commiſſion of the Preſident, deviate from the path of rectitude, their improprieties of conduct will be aſcribed to his overſight. The Preſident with his Council and no others are anſwerable to the Nation for the miſdemeanor of their Creaturss, who are introduced to ſerve the Commonwealth. ¿Who ſhall be reſponſible to the intereſt of a Sovereign People, their Chief Magiſtrate or certain petty officers, whom the Public do not know or perhaps diſlike? ¿Who hold the honour of the national confidence, the former or the latter?

45. In turning my attention to the venerable perſon, who occupies at preſent the eminent Seat which I am treating of, in my idea of politics I ſurvey him with the

the utmoſt veneration. I feel the greateſt ſatisfaction in congratulating my fellow-citizens of the United States in the choice of ſuch a Chief. It is and will be a perpetual glory to the American Nation, to have conferred an honourable and complete reward to the virtues of GEORGE WASHINGTON, a name once as dreadful and revered to Britiſh Tyranny, as now praiſed, reſpected and loved by all the Powers of the Globe. America obſerved in this worthy Citizen, public fidelity ſhine in his political projects, valour and intrepidity conſtantly guided by vigilance and prudence; and ſucceſs crown his martial enterpiſes with the additional fortune of the humiliation of the enemies of his Country, and the eſtabliſhment of a ſolid Independence. As a ſurviving Champion, therefore, (though not poſſeſſed with uncommon abilities, or ambitious of the pride of a Mecenas) his ſucceſsful ſervices will forever inſpire love, confidenee and reſpect in every good American.

46. The renowned merit of our Patriot has not been ſufficient, however, to exempt him from enmity. Anti-federal calumny, envious of the good opinion that his unblemiſhed conduct gained him over his countrymen, filled at certain periods the newſpapers of the Continent with the moſt unmerited animadverſions. The Proclamation of Neutrality, which the Preſident made in the year 1793, became immediately a topic of criticiſm for malevolent writers, whoſe ſtrictures, though witty, were truly ſeditious. The People of the United States had at that criſis a clear opportunity of perceiving, how ungratefully the beſt of meaſures is often regarded, and that no rectitude of conduct is ever free from attacks. As the limits of this Chapter cannot admit a complete diſcuſſion on the propriety of ſuch a Proclamation, my remarks on it will be as conciſe as poſſible. Every Republican in this Continent will undoubtedly allow, that the Preſident of the United States is and ought to be the firſt Repreſentative of the Commonwealth,

Commonwealth, of courſe he was privileged to ſpeak and declare what the intereſt and dignity of the American People neceſſarily required at that critical moment. Some inſiſted, that Congreſs only had the excluſive and ſole power to declare the will of the Nation; but (admitting it) the power of Congreſs exiſts only in their collective body, and no where elſe; and as Congreſs was not ſitting at the time of ſuch emergency, it appears, therefore, that by their receſs, the power was veſted in the Preſident, of courſe it was his duty (by the advice of his counſellors) to do what Congreſs would have done. The further charge brought forward on this ſubject, was that he ought to have convened both Houſes to deliberate upon ſuch an important occaſion; conſidering, however that the propriety and good effect of the meaſure could not admit any delay, which the meeting of Congreſs would have certainly cauſed, the readineſs of the reſolution ſeems a ſufficient juſtification of his conduct. I truſt that the Preſident, relying

relying on the propriety of his plan, was perfectly convinced that Congreſs would approve (as they did) a Proclamation ſo well adapted to the circumſtances of the Commonwealth, hence a patriotic œconomy towards the public funds, prevented him from aſſembling an expenſive body without a certain advantage on the urgency of public buſineſs. Our critics are conſtantly grumbling at the ſix dollar ſalary that each Repreſentative gets per diem, ¿ what then would they have ſaid, if the Preſident had convened both Houſes of Congreſs, and that nothing ſhould have been reſolved after three or four weeks loſt in idle debate (as it may happen) but to iſſue the ſame Proclamation, which he had a mind previouſly to do? They would have branded General Waſhington with a prodigality totally ſtrange to him, and the impertinence of their miſrepreſentations would have increaſed. With reſpect to the legality imputed to the ſaid Proclamation, I perceive nothing in it but what was proper and lawful. In the whole of the Articles

ticles of Confederation, the Federal Conſtitution, and the Acts of Congreſs, I never obſerved any objection to the Preſident againſt making any *Proclamation of neutrality*. No lawyer even can diſcover any violation of the political ſyſtem, nor of the laws. The power of making proclamations belongs to the Executive, and not to the Legiſlative Body. A proceeding of this nature neceſſarily implies the execution of the laws, and not the origin of them. It is founded upon the eſtabliſhment of rules, to prevent their tranſgreſſion. It appears, therefore, that the Predent's Proclamation of neutrality was never intended or pretended to be a law (as ſophiſtry conſidered it) but a ſimple proviſionary meaſure, taken in the abſence of Congreſs to preſerve the Nation from imminent danger, and which could have been annulled if not adapted to the purpoſe. Finally, no uſurpation of power was diſcovered in it on the ſide of the Preſident, but what was in conſequence of equal, if not higher, authority veſted in him. An

officer

officer who holds the power of checking a bill of the Legiſlature *(2)*; who exerciſes the authority of the Senate while abſent *(3)*; and who appoints Ambaſſadors, public Miniſters, &c. (whoſe taſk is to ſpeak the will of the Nation, and Government of the United States) ſhall be entitled to declare the will of the community by way of a *temporary* precaution. If theſe reflections are not ungrounded, the Preſident's Proclamation of neutrality was proper, wiſe and legal. The peace and proſperity that America enjoyed in conſequence of it, are ſufficient proofs of the vigilance and prudence of our public friend and political father.

47. Remembering my former note *(4)*, I beg leave to take a paſſing view of the Judicial power. This branch of Government is, without doubt, equally important in a Republic to any other. As a Nation cannot politically exiſt without laws nor without the practice and meaning of them,

(2) See § 40. (3) See § 35.
(4) See the quotation (a).

them, it follows that the want which the people feel of a Legiſlative and Executive Department, extends itſelf to a Judiciary one. The performance of this office, depends on what the two foregoing have enacted and ſanctioned. By our Conſtitution (5), we are plainly informed of its object and juriſdiction. While I perceive it is the interpretation of treaties and laws, when complicated or ambiguous, I ſee likewiſe that its eſſential taſk is to preſerve their genuine conſtruction and meaning (6); and whereas all this is nothing in itſelf but a mere duty, I am at a loſs to conceive upon what ground ſeveral politicians conſider it independent from the other Departments. That all and each of the judges ought to be in their functions of a diſintereſted ſpirit and diſpoſition, juſtice ſolemnly declares it; but that the Judicial power, acting under the Conſtitution and laws of the United States, ſhould be independent

(5) Art. III, Sect. 2.

(6) Maſſachuſetts Declarat. of Rights, Part I, Art. XXIX.

dependent of the Legiſlative and Executive authorities, ſeems quite erroneous. It would be the ſame as to ſuppoſe it not ſubſervient to thoſe laws, which are the guide and origin of its career. In whatever light we may conſider the independence of Judicial power, it will ariſe from the integrity and impartiality of our judges; then I will requeſt the attention of my Reader to take notice of the ſalary annexed to them, *(7)*, which is certainly liberal enough to raiſe them above the temptation of venality. ¡ Thanks to the divine providence, and the ſalutary proviſions of our Government, that this happy Country is quite ignorant of the monopoliſing vices committed in the baſe policies of European Kingdoms and Ariſtocracies! Should our critics have experienced the iniquity of thoſe Courts in vending their judgment to the higheſt bidder, they

(7) See laws of the firſt Congreſs, firſt ſeſſion, Chap. XVIII.

An Act for allowing certain compenſation *to the Judges of the Supreme and other Courts, &c.*

they would ſcarcely think it not worth while to enquire and diſpute, whether the judges are appointed by the Executive Department, or elected by the People at large; or whether they become *Creature* (agreeably to the expreſſion often repeated in the newſpapers) rather than *independent* officers. If they knew, as it is the fact, that in other States the appointment of Judges depends chiefly on the protection of a Prince, Duke or Nobleman, and the moſt inadequate and vicious perſons fill ſuch important offices, they would readily acknowledge the bleſſings of our Conſtitution, which places in ſuch ſituations citizens of diſtinguiſhed abilities, fair fame, and neceſſary qualifications. No exceſſes or irregularities of the kind can be dreaded by the people of the United States. Our Judges can do no more, than what our Repreſentatives have thought proper and convenient to eſtabliſh. They "hold their offices during good behavi-

"our,"

our," (8) and whenever inability or abuſes appear, their removal ſoon takes place. Even in criminal caſes, wherein the European Judges exerciſe an arbitary power, we ſee our courts quite limited. The Jury alone have the ſole power of judging the fact by their verdict. If any independence could be allowed to a Judicature, it would belong only to the Jury, becauſe the Judges can do nothing in it, but give charges and recommendations. Their duty is to acquit or condemn the proſecuted, as the laws preſcribe, after the verdict is pronounced. And, finally, conſidering that the functions of Judicial Power conſiſt in applying the laws to any caſe or proceſs, which is brought before it, I am of opinion, that it is a branch of the Executive Department, though ſeperate and diſtinct from it (9).

48. In

(8) Maryland Declar. of Rights, - Sect. XXX.
Maryland - Conſtitution. - - - - XL.
Virginia - - *ibid.* - - - Clauſe 16.
North Carolina. *ibid.* - - Sect. XIII.
&c. &c.

(9) Maryland Declar. of Rights, - - Sect. VI.
Virginia

48. In entering on the ſubject of elections, it is very neceſſary to take a view, in the firſt inſtance, of ſome popular prejudices introduced in this particular by the cavillings of proſtituted politicians, in order to proceed on the matter with more facility and ſatisfaction.

49. The mode of electing Senators, and particularly the Preſident, and Vice Preſident of the United States, has often appeared extravagant. As the former are choſen by the Legiſlature of the State (10) which they are to repreſent in Congreſs, and the latter by Electors ſpecially appointed for that purpoſe (11) the people have been told that they have no active part or ſuffrage in it, and conſequently are deprived of an inherent republican right. Hence it is ſuppoſed, that ariſtocracy gains daily ſtrength, and even that it exiſted at the very

Virginia Conſt. - - - - - - Clauſe 2.
North-Carolina Declar. of Rights, Sect. IV.

(10) Fed. Conſt. Art. I, Sect. 3.

(11) - *Ibid.* - ·· II. ·· 1. Clauſes 2 & 3.

very moment that the Federal Conſtitution was arranged and adopted.

50. That ariſtocracy may be the favorite ſyſtem of ſome of our Federal Officers, is not improbable, but there are no reaſonable grounds for ſuppoſing, that the Federal Conſtitution ſhould deſerve ſuch an unfavorable epithet. Whatever be the diſpoſition of any officers, it can by no means affect the Government (12). No Anti-democratic views actuate theſe elections, becauſe, though they may ſuperficially appear unpleaſing to the Body of the Citizens, they are not in reality leſs republican than any other. If the people are not the *immediate* electors, they are the *main-ſpring* of ſuch elections, by appointing their Delegates, who exerciſe this right, as authoriſed to do it, and even veſted with powers far ſuperior. A Legiſlative Body, which binds the community to its decrees and ordinances, cannot be inadequate to the buſineſs of appointing a citizen as a Senator, or naming a Committee of citizens

(12) See Chap. II. § 27.

zens to vote for the Preſident, and Vice Preſident of the United States.

51. Nobody will diſpute, that the people of Pennſylvania as well as other States, are fairly repreſented in their reſpective Governments, and agreeably to this plain truth, it appears that the people compoſe the Legiſlature, and the Legiſlature the people. I would therefore be much obliged to any politician, who could prove with ſolid reaſons, that the people loſe their right, becauſe the elections aforeſaid reſt in the power of the Legiſlature. It is Order, which dictates ſuch a mode of elections, and by order only a ſound republican Government can act. The Republic of America can be properly compared to the regularity of a watch, the wheels and other parts of which, are put in motion by the main-ſpring. According to this plain compariſon, thoſe who pretend that the people take no active part in the elections of Senators, Preſident and Vice Preſident of the United States, muſt inſiſt likewiſe, that the ſpring of a watch has

has no active part in its regular courſe, and then by breaking the inſide chain (by which the principal motion is communicated), my opponents will amend their errors in perceiving the conſequences.

52. But they will aſk, ¿ Why could not the People elect thoſe officers, rather than their Repreſentatives ? ¿ Would there be any impropriety, or confuſion in it ? I reply there would, and a very great one. *Firſt*, becauſe the induſtrious part of the community (which we can confidently conſider the majority), would not like to be diſturbed in being too often called upon to fill up temporary vacancies in caſes of death, reſignation, impeachment or other motives. *Secondly*, becauſe the repreſentatives of the people know what the public welfare neceſſarily requires, and what perſons are beſt adapted to the buſineſs, in which the ſtate employs them. And *thirdly*, becauſe it is an eſſential duty of the Legiſlature to provide for all public neceſſities, and for which purpoſe they are paid out of the public treaſury. From a preſumption,

tion, that the people ought to interfere with all the adventitious buſineſs of government, an obſerver might ſay, ¿ What need have we of the Legiſlature, if we can do the whole? Our Aſſembly would then become as uſeleſs, as it is expenſive to the National ſtock. A certain party of vicious Democrats would undoubtedly rejoice at the new introduction of the ancient Athenian Republicaniſm, but if we ſhould conſult our buſy tradeſmen, induſtrious manufacturers, and active merchants, their ſentiments would be very remote from adopting ſuch a mode of proceeding.

53. I flatter myſelf that the foregoing remarks on the elections carried on by the Legiſlature, will meet with no material objections. They concern the people ſo far as to convince them of the propriety of ſuch an arrangement; it is therefore evident that the appointment of Senators, and of thoſe electors who are to vote for the Preſident, and Vice Preſident of the United States, is perfectly conſonant with the ſpirit of the Federal, and the different

other

other Conſtitutions, with the preſervation of the people's Rights, and, in ſhort, agreeable to that *order*, which Democracy requires for its ſupport.

54. Our Federal Government did not explicitly define the qualifications of an Elector, and prudently left it to the regulations of each State (13). Several of theſe differ among themſelves on the ſubject (14), and the variety of their rules on the *reſidence* required in a man to be a Citizen, might puzzle the enquiry and penetration of

(13) Feder. Conſtit. Art. I. Sect. 2, 1ſt Clauſe.

(14) Maſſachuſetts Conſtit. Chap. I, Sect. 2, Art. 2 & 4.
New-Jerſey - *ibid* - Sect. IV.
New-York - - *ibid* - Art. VII.
Maryland - - *ibid* - Sect. II, *in princip.*

☞ In order to ſee the variation, the above muſt be compared with the following:

Pennſylvania Conſtitution. Art. III, Sect. 1*.
North-Carolina *ibid* - Sect. 8.
South-Carolina *ibid* - Art. I, Sect. 4, *in fin.*
Georgia - - *ibid* - Art. IV, Sect. 1.
Vermont - - *ibid* - Chap. II, Sect. 36.

* The Conſtitution of Pennſylvania is one of the moſt reaſonable of the United States in this reſpect. "Every

of a Reader acquainted with the general law (15). We muſt, however, ſuppoſe that each State has formed its regulations, according to its own circumſtances and advantages. Some of the Conſtitutions aforeſaid are preceded by a Declaration of Rights in a ſtyle truly candid and energetic, but ſhould

" Every freeman, of the age of twenty-one years, " having reſided in the State two years next before the " election, and within that time paid a ſtate or coun- " ty tax . . . . . ſhall enjoy the right of an elec- " tor." That is to ſay, he ſhall be entitled to vote for a Repreſentative in Congreſs, and in the State Legiſlature, for Governor, Sheriff, and all ſuch important Officers. It is paſſing ſtrange, however, that ſuch a Government ſhould allow, that the rules of the Corporation of the City of Philadelphia ſhould exclude all freemen, except freeholders, from voting for Aldermen. Several remonſtrances have been made to the Legiſlature on the impropriety of ſuch regulation, which notwithſtanding has not yet been expunged. How a democratic Conſtitution, and Government, can thus overlook ſuch an evident (though inſignificant) principle of Ariſtocracy, is left to the judgment of my informed Reader to account for.

(15) Fed. Conſtit. Art. IV, Sect. 2. " *The Ci-* " *tizens of each State ſhall be entitled to all the pri-*

ſhould the Conſtitutions be leſs particular in their requiſition, *Theory* would then agree with *Practice*, and Practice with energetic Theory. We ſee that every Candidate or Repreſentative muſt be a Freeholder, worth more or leſs, agreeably to the Conſtitution under which he reſides (16). That of Pennſylvania is excepted, as having adopted a prudent ſilence on ſuch a *qualification*. I declare myſelf a ſincere admirer of every Conſtitution of the United

" *vivileges and immunities of Citizens in the ſeveral* " *States.*"

☞ It may be obſerved, that the Federal Conſtitution was formed and adopted after thoſe of the different States, which remark might give riſe to this queſtion: ¿ Whether each State ſtrictly practiſes what it has liberally adopted by ſanction?

(16) Maſſachuſetts Conſtitution, Chap. I, Sect. 3, Art. 3.

New-Jerſey Conſtit.		Sect. III.
Delaware -	*ibid*	Sect. III & IV.
Maryland -	*ibid*	Sect. II & XV.
Virginia -	*ibid*	Paragraph III & IV.
North-Carolina	*ibid*	Sect. V & VI.
South-Carolina	*ibid*	Art. I, Sect. 6 & 8.
Georgia -	*ibid*	Art. I, Sect. 3 & 7.

nited States, but if candor deſerves to be protected from the arrows of cenſure, my opinion differs on this ſubject.

55. My ſhallow penetration in political affairs has induced me to think, that a Republican Government wants nothing elſe than *wiſe*, *honeſt* and *popular* Adminiſtrators (17); and whereas Abilities, Uprightneſs and Patriotiſm, are not derived from property and riches; conſequently no Government of this kind needs the management of the wealthy, in the adminiſtration of its affairs. Government, indeed, has a right to require in a Candidate "a ſufficient evidence of a permanent "common intereſt with, and attachment "to the Community" (18); but does ſuch

(17) The Author, ambitious of giving praiſe where it is juſtly merited, lays before his Reader the generous ſentiments diſplayed, on this ſubject, in the Conſtitution of Vermont. "The Houſe of Repreſentatives, "of the freemen of this State, ſhall conſiſt of perſons "MOST NOTED for WISDOM and VIRTUE, to be cho-"ſen by ballot, by the freemen of every Town in this "State reſpectively, on the firſt Tueſday of September "annually, for ever." (See Chap. II, Sect. 8.)

(18) Delaware Declar. of Rights, Art. VI.

ſuch an *evidence* ariſe from his property? ¿Is a poor honeſt man, with a wife and children, more deficient in it, than a rich foreigner, who comes to America, and purchaſes large parcels of lands on its wide Continent? ¿Is the attachment of the Father of a family leſs faithful to his Country, than that of a Landholder? I think not—Nay! I firmly believe the former much more ſincere than the latter, who is often led by mere intereſt, and views of aggrandizement. Such ought to be the ſtrongeſt evidence in favour of a man of genius, though poor (for poverty does not make an individual ignorant) to participate in the adminiſtration of Government, and the *qualification* of PROPERTY ought to be conſidered as *accidental*, rather than *eſſential*. I will admit that the office of Governor, who is commonly authoriſed to diſpoſe of appropriations, &c. that of Treaſurer, who holds the public ſtock, and ſome other ſimilar ſituations, ſhould be entruſted to perſons of viſible and real property; but as to offices which depends

depends chiefly on the *wiſdom* of direction, and not on the *mechanical* duties of paying and receiving, the caſe is quite different. ¡How many Citizens would be of great importance to the public welfare, if abilities were preferred to property (19)!

56. If we turn our attention to Religion, we will perceive that it has been particularly noticed in the formation of our Conſtitutions. Several of them appear to have been partial to the Chriſtian Religion (20), and

(19) Upon the whole of theſe laſt obſervations, envy will probably ſuggeſt that the Author's circumſtances ſtand in need of ſuch a plea. The Critics, however, ought to take notice, that, though his citizenſhip in this ſtate has already exceeded four years, he never was married, nor has he any family; of courſe he cannot be conſidered the proper ſubject of ſuch plea. He does not, indeed, expect, nor is he in the leaſt ambitious of obtaining any Office in the Commonwealth, and ſhould ſuch a period arrive, in which ſome unknown friends might honour him as a candidate, he ſincerely proteſts that no ſolicitation will be uſed on his part, nor any obligation acknowledged for the ſuffrages of his ſupporters.

(20) Maſſachuſetts Conſtit. Execut. Power, Sect. I, Art. 2, *in fin.*

Maryland

and ſome, in particular, were ſcrupulouſly attached to its tenets (21). A Jew, or Deiſt, has no chance for holding any office under the Government of Delaware, nor a Naturaliſt under that of Pennſylvania (22); yet among ſuch Sects we might ſometimes diſcover excellent Stateſmen, as there are, without doubt, among them many uſeful and honeſt Citizens.

57. Having finiſhed a regular courſe of Theology, I think myſelf, at leaſt, as equally entitled to ſpeak occaſionally on religious topics, as thoſe *living* fanatics, who have of *late* become *Deiſts*; however as the Author of the FEDERAL POLITICIAN, I cannot be looked upon as a Divine, but merely

Maryland Declar. of Rights, Sect. XXXV, *in fin.*
.. - - - Conſtit. - .. LV, ..

(21) Delaware Conſtit. Sect. XXII, Clauſe 3.
North-Carolina *ibid* - .. XXXII.
Vermont - *ibid* Chap. II, Sect. 12, Clauſe 4.

(22) The Reader by comparing the above quotation of the Delaware Conſtitution (Sect. XXII, Clauſe 3) with the tenets of a Jew, or Deiſt; and likewiſe the Conſtitution of Pennſylvania (Art. IX, Sect. 4.) with thoſe of a Naturaliſt, will allow the propriety of this aſſertion.

merely as an impartial Philoſopher, I ſhall only ſay, that in a Country, where political, and religious liberty were invited to fix their abode, no Man, nor Society of men have a right to cenſure the particular tenets of an Individual. Every Religion is good, becauſe its object is holineſs; but none, in my opinion, can boaſt any *ſuperiority* over another in point of perfection. The Character of a Chriſtian, is certainly more congenial to my ſentiments than any other, but I cannot preſume to worſhip God in a more meritorious manner than a Jew worſhips him. Reaſon clearly demonſtrates the exiſtence of a SUPREME BEING, and whether my neighbour worſhips him in light or in darkneſs, in a church or a meeting, with pure love or with hypocriſy, it does not concern me, nor others. ¿ Can a motion of a Preſbyterian legiſlator, merely on the ſcore of Religion, have more weight than that of a Quaker, or Roman Catholic? ¿ Does Government employ an agent for his religious, or does it for his political character? ¿ Is there any

any real abilities to be expected from profeſſing one Religion more than another? When theſe queſtions are fairly anſwered, it will appear nugatory for a temporal Government to meddle in ſpirituals, and even allowing ſome degree of conſcientious delicacy on this ocoaſion, the *acknowledgment* of a God, anſwers every purpoſe of a public man in his *political* career.

58. ¡ May our Federal Conſtitution be forever bleſſed, and ſupported! No notice of theſe idle diſtinctions was ever taken in it, and her liberality (23) will inſtruct other Governments to maintain the civil, and religious liberty of the people.

59. Having concluded thoſe obſervations, which could not be well avoided in this Chapter, I muſt now return to my ſubject,, and introduce ſome remarks on elections, in which the intereſt of the Nation is much concerned.

60. As the People are the very origin of Conſtitutions and Governments, nothing can be more important to their Liberty,

(23) Fed. Conſt. Art. VI. Sec. 3, *in fin.*

berty, ſecurity and happineſs, than the delegation of their authority; and as thoſe entruſted with ſuch a charge, are the Delegates of the People, I am of opinion, that the election of a Legiſlator is the moſt precarious, and, at the ſame time, the moſt intereſting buſineſs in the whole ſyſtem of Politics. It is indeed a ſerious tranſaction on the part of the public, becauſe on their choice depends a total ſuppreſſion of murmurs, and diſcord. Let the National confidence be repoſed in worthy Repreſentatives, and while the public buſineſs is carried on with firmneſs and integrity, the people will enjoy a ſolid ſatisfaction, even in the wiſdom of their appointment. In order, therefore, to ſecure theſe invaluable bleſſings, the choice muſt be well made.

61. It is a great mortification to an independent mind, to ſee Parties recommend candidates to the public through the channel of Newſpapers, becauſe it is an unqueſtionable truth, that *real* merit wants no ſupport from ſuch intrigues. A recommendation of this nature ſeems to im-

ply, that the perſon ſo recommended is not known, ¿What confidence, then, can the people place in ſuch a candidate? ¿Has he given any proof of his deſerving the public favor? If he did, he is known, therefore he wants no recommendation. If he did not, let him remain in the ranks, until his abilities and patriotiſm have brought him forward. Some will probably remark, that ſuch recommendations mean only to remind the people of the good qualities and qualifications of the candidate propoſed, but I ſhall obſerve: 1ſt, that as vanity is the degradation of merit, a worthy character is rather injured than indulged by recommendations; and 2dly, that the people are not wholly compoſed of ignorant individuals, or ſo degenerate as to forget the merit of any citizen, if the public welfare, has in any ſignal inſtance, been promoted by him. *Fama volat*, according to the latin proverb, and there is no neceſſity, therefore, of awakening the memory about any circumſtance, which fame loudly proclaims. ¿What could I

ſay of thoſe individuals, who publicly advertiſe themſelves as candidates, and impudently ſolicit the ſupport of their fellow-citizens? The deſpicable idea of ſuch an ambitious and ſhameleſs conduct, will be more eaſily formed by the penetration of my Reader, than by any further obſervations.

62. For my own part, I ſincerely think that every Citizen who is lawfully entitled to vote, is inviolably free (24), and no attempt ought to be made to change, delude or purchaſe his choice (25). Influence eclipſes Liberty, and conceals her bright features under the dark ſhade of paſſions,

(24) On the Freedom of elections, the Reader is referred to the following:

North-Carolina - - Declar. of Rights, Sec. VI.
Vermont - - - *ibid.* - - Chap. I. Sec. - 9.
Maſſachuſetts - - *ibid.* - - Part I. Art. - 9.

(25) Theſe abominable monopolies are ſufficiently reprobated by the following Conſtitutions, whereof the Reader is deſired to take particular notice.

Maryland - - Conſtitution, Sec. LIV.
Georgia - - - - - *ibid.* - - Art. I. Sec. 15.
Vermont - - - - *ibid.* - - Chap. II. Sec. 31.

paſſions, intereſt and corruption. Every Freeman truly attached to the welfare of his country, will conſider it as a duty of conſcience to ſupport with his free ſuffrage thoſe only, who appear the beſt adapted to public buſineſs. Finally, whatever light, information or encomium may be conveyed by any man or Society of men to the people, relative to the virtues of a Citizen, it is (though allowed by jacobine liberty) a manifeſt inſult and impoſition, becauſe the electors are looked upon as a ſet of idiots, only capable of being inſtructed by their dictators in the leſſon of contempt (30).

63. Upon

(30) The Democratic Society of this City has treated upon this important ſubject with great energy and impartiality. The fourth *Fundamental principle* of that Meeting runs thus, "That in the choice of perſons "to fill the offices of Government, it is eſſential to "the exiſtence of a Free Republic, that every citizen "ſhould act according to his own judgment, and, "therefore, any attempt to corrupt or delude the peo-"ple in exerciſing the Rights of ſuffrage, either by "promiſing the favor of one Candidate, or traducing "the character of another, is an offence equally injurious

63. Upon the whole, conſidering that any perſon, who lawfully exerciſes a legitimate authority, repreſents in his department the Nation, as the political Author of it, I am induced to conceive, that every Officer of the Federal Government, whether ſuperior or inferior, whether veſted with an extenſive or limited power, is a *Repreſentative* of the People. Happy, therefore, the American Commonwealth, if her public Servants are faithful to their reſpective truſts, guided by her will, and purſuing, as their conſtant object, her welfare,

" rious to moral rectitude and civil Liberty." Theſe elegant ſentiments ought to remain impreſſed on the mind of every Freeman, and the above Society, (if faithful to her principles) will undoubtedly ſet up a laudable example for other meetings, which appear to be deficient of information and candor in this reſpect.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

FEDERALISM, AND ANTI-FEDERALISM, COMPARED.

I WAS often ſtruck by the terms *Federal* and *Anti-federal*, uſed by ſeveral newſpaper petty writers. That Man is fond of diſtinctions and diſcoveries, is a natural inſtinct peculiar to an ambition in him aſpiring to perfection *(a)*, but that diſtinctions can be diſcovered and made where diſtinctions are aboliſhed, is indeed a new mode of improvement, which I always doubted the exiſtence of.

2. I know what Federaliſm is, and whoever can read its Conſtitution may eaſily

(a) Cicer. de offic. 2. *Tuſcul. I.*

At inquiſitio atque inveſtigatio veri propria eſt hominis, qui unus eſt rationis participes: et natum ineſt mentibus noſtris inſatiabilis quædam cupiditas veri videndi.

ly become acquainted with it, but as for Anti-federaliſm it is quite obſcure to every body, becauſe there are no outlines to be traced nor foundation to depend on. It is ſuppoſed, that thoſe who belong to this political ſect, could give ſome ſolid ſtatement of their adopted principles. Notwithſtanding my moſt diligent enquiry, I ſincerely confeſs I never could ſucceed. Whether ſuch a ſyſtem be ſo vague and whimſical, as to afford no chance of aſcertaining any direct clue, or whether my confined capacity proved always too feeble to penetrate its myſterious profundity, I cannot tell, but what I can ſolemnly aſſert, is, that I was more aſtoniſhed than gratified. As a political writer, therefore, I ſhall proceed as conciſely as poſſible to lay before my Readers ſome reflections on the ſubject, which (if not fully inſtructive on account of the obſcurity of the matter) will, I hope, be acceptable for the impartiality with which they are marked.

3. Convinced

3. Convinced, that the Federal Government is not a deſpotic one, and that it has not even the leaſt feature of Deſpotiſm, I truſt no objection will be made to my ingenuous aſſertion when I term it *Republican*; under this title, however, can be compriſed a blended union of Ariſtocratic and Democratic ſyſtems, which form diſtinctively ſo great a contraſt, as to be repugnant to each other; it then remains to demonſtrate to which of the two ſides the Federal Government belongs. By a ſerious peruſal of Chap. II, as well as of the whole of the Federal Conſtitution, will be eaſily perceived, that, not only the egregious, but even the moſt tolerable marks of Ariſtocracy have been removed and proſcribed by the wiſe Convention of 1787, and inſtead of them the moſt impartial and Republican ſentiments were introduced, and firmly eſtabliſhed. In conſequence of this unqueſtionable evidence, I think myſelf authoriſed to aſſert, that the Federal ſyſtem is founded upon the genuine baſis of Democracy.

4. Taking

4. Taking now into view the Anti-federals as a faction oppoſite to it, ¿ what idea can any liberal citizen form of them? If Republicaniſm reſts upon ſincerity, ¿ what candour can we ſuppoſe its enemies to be poſſeſſed of? If Democracy aims always at decorum, juſtice and order, ¿ what can be the views of its calumniators? In ſhort, if Federaliſm ſinifies Union, pray, ¿ what is the meaning of Anti-ſederaliſm? Theſe queſtions are in my opinion fully anſwered in their own implication, and the very name of *Anti-federaliſm* will excite in all Freemen that idea and deciſive opinion, which renders any explanation totally unneceſſary.

5. In the human diſpoſition we frequently diſcover phenomena equally aſtoniſhing, as thoſe of viſible Nature, which ſometimes ſtrike the moſt eminent talents, and ſucceſsful inquiſitors with wonder and admiration. We ſee fools who appear to be wiſe, ſavages who ſeem to be kind, and extravagant thinkers who boaſt much of ſolidity and judgment. Next to this de-

ſcription approach our Anti-federals, who notwithſtanding the bleſſings they equally with others enjoy under the Federal Conſtitution, look upon it as an imperfect one. The wiſdom of a whole Nation, perhaps the moſt enlightened that ever has been, appears to them (as they would have it) a child's caſtle erected with cards and paper. Every thing that relates to our Government, is in their imagination all affectation, partiality and impoſition. The favourite doctrine which they are daily preaching, is that of UNITY AND INDIVISIBILITY. It was adopted by them, becauſe ſuch a denomination appears *Modern*; becauſe from a new reform of titles, they hope and ardently wiſh for a new change of affairs; and from ſuch a change, that ſomething would turn up in favour of their imaginary views. But if theſe capricious ſectaries would give a fair ſcope to the rational faculties, and act in conformity with them, they would ſoon perceive, that Federaliſm really means what they ſeek for, and that there can be no

Unity

Unity and *Indiviſibility* without true Federaliſm; that our Conſtitution is well eſtabliſhed, and ſtrictly practiſes what nations of the above modern deſcription boaſt; and finally, that a Government is not good merely on account of its being termed *Republican*, but for the faithful diſcharge of its duties.

6. I have already ſpoken on this ſubject, and I believe my Reader will recollect the difference, which I did explain between a *pompous title*, and a *ſtrict performance*; I ſhall therefore paſs over this particular, at the ſame time obſerving, that the order and regular courſe of our Government plainly evinces what our unprincipled calumniators with much effrontery deny.

7. It is commonly allowed, that the motley crew who form political clubs in general, are compoſed for the moſt part of turbulent ſpirits, wandering emigrants, emiſſaries of Anarchy, and knights-errant without character. Thoſe are they, who calumniated your glorious Revolution, and

and added difficulties to your virtuous ſtruggles. Thoſe are they, who diſapproved your patriotic and manly reſiſtance to tyrannical oppreſſion, as they now affect to conceive the utmoſt averſion for Deſpotic Governments. Thoſe are they who in a ſtate of ſlavery wiſhed all mankind to be loaden with their chains, and now that they are admitted to the enjoyment of Freedom, endeavour to daſh the cup of Liberty with the poiſon of Diſcord. It is to be lamented, that ſome of theſe tribes hold public employments in the Commonwealth, and dare to depreciate that very Conſtitution, from which they derive a ſupport, and which they have ſworn to maintain and defend.

8. But let them perſevere in their ingratitude, and enjoy all the bliſs it is capable of beſtowing on its poſſeſſor. Their reward at length will be an interment in that grave, which they inſidiouſly have dug for others.

9. I call upon the attention of my Reader to the following reflections. ¿ Can any perſon

perſon be attached to your domeſtic intereſt and tranquillity, who will by every indirect means prevent your family from benefiting by your inſtructions? ¿ Can he be reputed an honeſt man, who ſlanders the character of another? I know from experience, that ſuch deſigning beings have impoſed on me, as they have on others, and what they have told me to injure others, they have afterwards told others to injure me. They are men, who wear two faces, and are poſſeſſed of a falſe kind of confidence and dangerous friendſhip. Diſguſted at their infamous proceedings, I was deaf to their detractions, and deſpiſed their company as well as their intrigues. In order to diſcover theſe peſts to ſociety, look ſeriouſly in their faces, and examine carefully their actions. I ſcarcely found one in a hundred of them, who was able to diſguiſe in his countenance the duplicity of his ſoul. There can be no better defence againſt the attacks of impudence, calumny and iniquity, than modeſty, candour and uprightneſs, which

eminent

eminent qualities will ever enable their poſſeſſors to guard againſt the machinations of the artful and diſſembling.

10. Should there be on this globe a Government ſo truly perfect in its entire ſyſtem as to need no addition or amendment, even in ſuch a caſe we would not be without cavillers and mal-contents to declaim againſt it. ¿ Is it then to be wondered at, if we ſee Anti-federals preaching up their pernicious doctrine againſt the Conſtitution of the United States ? ¿ Would it not be more ſurpriſing and novel to ſee every citizen, without exception, pleaſed with it, than to obſerve that ſome, (which is notorious) are its declared enemies ? America could not expect ſuch an uninterrupted flow of happineſs in a ſtate of probation. There is no roſe without thorns, nor any reward without pains, as there is no ſweeter enjoyment than that, which has been purchaſed by toil and perſeverance. ¡ Such is the lot of human affairs !

11. Let it therefore be remembered, that no ſlander or malignancy ſhould diſcourage

courage the exertions of virtue and good conduct. For failing in their attempt to deſtroy, they encreaſe with double ſplendour the glory of an unſhaken Republic.

12. Our Anti-federals do not ſeem to know what they aim at, and I am inclined to believe, that their unintelligible deſigns are more injurious to themſelves, than to others. The ax which they lift againſt others, is turned, as if by ſome inviſible hand, on themſelves. When man arrives at ſuch an extreme of abſurdity, as to diſclaim the Empire of Reaſon, and to acknowledge no principles in the tenor of his actions, his ſituation is much to be lamented, but the miſchief he is capable of, ſhould be reſtrained. He ſinks inferior to, and becomes more ferocious than the brute, and merits an iron cage for his habitation. ¿ Where all Anti-federals ſhould lodge, if the mildneſs of the Federal laws did not omit to exerciſe that rigour, which their frenzy juſtly deſerves ?

13. FRENZY!

13. FRENZY! I term it with ſtrict propriety, becauſe they are either enemies to Democracy, and therefore Tyrants and Ariſtocrats; or they are enemies to Democracy, Ariſtocracy and Monarchy, and conſequently averſe to all Governments, and lay aſide every kind of morality, rule and order; they ought therefore to be looked upon, as they really are, the enemies to the happineſs of mankind, and their own. ¿ Shall my Reader conſider me an impudent calumniator, if I pronounce them a fanatic, turbulent and dangerous people?

14. A ſillogiſm offers this moment to my recollection, from evidence of which I flatter myſelf perſuaſive truth will appear more intereſting, or at leaſt more energetic. It concerns the Nation at large, as well as the individual. Under this conception, I hope my Reader will take particular notice of it.

15. Every attack upon the effect, ſhews an abhorrence of the cauſe; and whereas the Government of the United States is the

the production and adoption of the people thereof; conſequently no attack can be directed againſt the ſaid Government, without an abhorrence of the American People as its *Cauſe* and Author.

16. ¿ Can you admit theſe diſſatisfied beings to be true friends of yours, when they criticiſe and deteſt your choice, your works, and your actions? Did they conceive that reſpect, which a ſovereign and independent Nation, like this, is well entitled to: were they grateful to the friendly ſhore, that received them, to the hoſpitality which characteriſes the American People, and to the bleſſings they enjoy under the protection of theſe laws, they would evince their liberality and gratitude in their lively acknowledgments, and think themſelves highly favoured in breathing the ſame air with their fellow-citizens in the happy region of Liberty; but alas! they ſeem perfect ſtrangers to the feelings of humanity. They ſeem as ungenerous as impolitic, and imprudent as whimſical. They inſult your underſtanding, diſturb

your peace, and endeavour to demoliſh that glorious ſtructure, that arcadia, which your victories, wiſdom and virtues have ſo eminently erected.

17. Theſe, my dear Brethren, are your mortal foes. Theſe are the infamous private deſpots, who would ſecretly rend, like aſſaſſins, the peaceful boſom of your union and proſperity; and theſe are the incendiaries, whom you are to fight and ſubdue. War and rigorous meaſures are, therefore, neceſſary to bring ſuch lawleſs diſturbers of the public tranquillity to a ſenſe of their duty. Their aſſertions are falſe, their arguments are cavillings, and their ſyſtem is anarchy. Your peace, and glory depend on their total ſubjection. Let every good citizen be determined to diſcourage ſuch a dangerous ſet of men, who clandeſtinely meditate to undermine the very foundations of the public weal. No man of underſtanding will be proud to aſſume the title of *Anti-federal*, becauſe the very denomination, ſignifies ſomething malevolent

lent in itſelf, and inimical to enlightened Society.

18. Remember, that you are Freemen, and that no ſlander ought to induce you to depart from your Government; that you are wiſe enough to provide for your political wants, if neceſſary, without the advice and inſtruction of equivocal characters; and as the only proper way of rendering any ſolid advantage to the Commonwealth, is to inſpire love and unanimity, I ſhall conclude with this ingenuous declaration to you, that the Anti-federal Faction, in my opinion, will never be enabled and much leſs inclined to advance your proſperity by admonition or otherwiſe, becauſe they are quite averſe to the principles and means, by which it can be ſucceſsfully promoted.

CONCLUSION.

CONCLUSION.

AS I am now approaching the ſequel which involves a recapitulation of the contents of this work, I ſhall in the firſt place requeſt my Reader to pay ſome attention to the motto in the frontiſpiece, comprehending a diſtich from HORACE, the meaning of which correſponds with the following terms: *There is a manner in, and certain limits to human tranſactions, beyond which, in any direction, is inconſiſtent with rectitude.* This antient venerable writer, celebrated for his ſublime abilities and philoſophical diſpoſition, left to mankind an immortal leſſon of *moderation*, and ſhewed that the deep meaning of the SQUARE and COMPASS ſo indifferently regarded at the preſent time, was thoroughly underſtood in the earlieſt ſtage of literature. No man can be ſocial, wiſe and upright, if he does not profeſs moderation. This amiable

able quality is the companion of each virtue and the ſpirit of them all. While it corrects affectation, it prevents corruption. Succeſs in their undertakings is the reward of its faithful votaries. In a word it is the prime of virtues, becauſe if among them ſome diſtinction is perceived, this never admits any, being congenial to all. Man often repents of his too great violence in ſome tranſactions, but never of his being moderate. Raſhneſs and cowardice are too extremes as much abhorred by the rational, as they are oppoſite to each other; yet pernicious as they may be, ſome good effect may be drawn from them, if moderation is attended to. The former will diſappear on approaching the latter, and the latter will vaniſh by the influence of the former. Such a moderate union will bring forth what we call *prudence*.

2. The antient fable of Icarus *(a)*, is an applicable hint on this ſubject. Had he

(a) Icarus was the ſon of Dedalus, who directed the famous building of the labyrinth of Crete. He was

he taken the advice of his father, he would have ſucceeded in his flight; but, ¡alas! he periſhed in ſight of his deſtined landing. This inſtructive paſſage is a juſt and continual ſatire on human fanaticiſm and violence. ¿How can this enlightened age diſown the propriety of the method it inſinuates? It is an immutable truth, that no individual or nation ever did or can exiſt without ſome kind of laws and rules; that a political regulation conſiſts only in order; and that no order can be enjoyed, but

was confined in it by king Minos; and having reſolved on procuring his liberty, he could diſcover no other way to obtain it than by flying; having, therefore, uſed wax in the formation of his own wings and thoſe of his ſon, he adviſed him not to fly too high leſt the ſolar heat would melt the wax and occaſion his fall, nor too low leſt the humidity of the water would wet his feathers and cauſe his death; he, however, not minding the caution received from his father, flew ſo high that he loſt ſight of him, and what was foretold exactly happened. *Virg. Æneid.* 6, *v.* 14.——*Ovid. metam.*——*Diodor. Sic. lib.* 5. *chap.* 13.——*Encyclopedie, par M. Diderot, nouvelle edition á Geneve*—— *Tom.* X. - - *pag.* 499.
·· XVIII. - ·· 135.

but through the medium of moderation. A government founded on theſe ſolid principles ought to be certainly preferable to any other; ſtrange as it may appear, it has not recently been the caſe. The French Democrats have either miſtaken or neglected the terms, by branding moderation with the moſt ignominious epithets, and declaring a mortal hatred againſt its VOTARIES.

3. Though moderate men be perſecuted, yet when virtue is their guide they never can ſuffer any anxiety of mind. In the midſt of calumnies and oppreſſion, innocence will conſole them in their adverſity, and ſoften the rigours of their fate. ¡ Unhappy people who build their happineſs on violence—unenlightened is the nation which is miſled by the folly of premature meaſures—and wretched that country whoſe liberty is deeply encrimſoned with the blood of murders and unheard-of cruelties! To be harraſſed by a mercileſs mob, or oppreſſed by the abſolute power of a fanatic monarch are both inſupportable calamities,

calamities, yet it ſeems to me that the tyranny of one, cannot be ſo dreadful as that of thouſands. Nothing can be more horrible and diſtreſſing than to ſee an ignorant, wanton, and unruly *canaille*, violate the laws, ſuppreſs order and maſſacre the wealthy inhabitants through the thirſt of rapine, and plunder, under the pretext of extripating Ariſtocrats. If this be the track that Jacobine policy purſues to equalize mankind, their Standard of Equality can never be enough deteſted. To level property is to encourage idleneſs and corruption in thoſe beings, who are not only uſeleſs, but even a peſt to ſociety. It is a heavy check on induſtry, and an injuſtice to thoſe, whoſe active labours are exerted for the advantage of all claſſes of citizens. Every workman is entitled to reward, and if the compenſation of his toil and abilities has procured him riches, he juſtly deſerves to enjoy all the comforts that his well-earned property can afford, to cheer him in declining age for the fatigues he endured in his youth. Any action different

ent from this principle of common juſtice, is repugnant to Reaſon and Nature.

4. It is by breaking down the fences of Moderation, that a Nation is plunged into a continual ſtate of convulſions, and by being totally unacquainted with the right ſyſtem of liberty, that a deſtructive anarchy is introduced to diſtreſs mankind. Thus I conceive it as impoſſible to reap the bleſſings of Freedom from ſuch unprincipled procedures, as to ſuppoſe that an evident evil can produce a real good, or that mal-practices are entitled to praiſe and recompenſe.

5. Liberty is undoubtedly the fundamental baſis of political happineſs, but it muſt be as rational as energetic. Men are born equally free, and have a right to the enjoyment of Freedom, becauſe it is a privilege as eſſential to their being as it is natural; yet they ſhould reflect that true freedom conſiſts in the power of doing what is not hurtful to Society, whether in part or in the whole; and that it ac-

knowledges and obſerves the laws, as its permanency ariſes only from moderate reſtrictions. Human paſſions commonly revolt againſt ſuch a ſubjection, hence they deſtroy inſtead of enjoying the bleſſings of Liberty. They confound freedom with licentiouſneſs; of courſe rights, morals and duties are inſtantly at ſtake. Political equality (which is guarantied only by rational liberty) is overturned, and no protection can be derived from it. Such evils, ſubverſive of order and peace, are the conſequence of thoſe exceſſes, which a whimſical or paſſionate Democrat conceives of Liberty, and ſo wild and inconſiſtent are his plans as to prove him a tyrant and ſlave to himſelf.

6. It was for the preſervation of rational liberty that Government was firſt inſtituted by our earlieſt generations, and Democracy was the ſyſtem originally adopted. Had not mankind plunged themſelves into the lethargy of indolence and ſuperſtition (which render the contempt of the Rights of Man faſhionable, and on which

which oppreſſion is founded) they would not have undergone thoſe miſeries, which at ſeveral unfortunate periods have befallen them. However diſagreeable may be the remembrance of paſt ſufferings, yet they are a permanent and inſtructive leſſon for the future time. It is by experiencing good and bad, that man is diſpoſed to follow the former and ſhun the latter. Each extreme ſhews its oppoſite, and the rational being improves by the compariſon. Since, then, the preſent age, tracing from ancient hiſtory the purity of politics, has diſcovered and aſſumed her former dignity, it is time to conſolidate for ever the glorious reform. Let the original plan be the criterion of Nations, and Governments; let the ancient ſimplicity and innocence become faſhionable, rather than modern extravagance and innovations. This is the ſafeſt method, the moſt permanent form, and approved Democracy.

7. We have obſerved that the Federal Syſtem (as the beſt political production that human wiſdom and experience have ever

ever invented) depends chiefly upon the foregoing qualifications. Its eſtabliſhment being as ſolid as energetic ſhews its natural excellence. However deficient my capacity may have appeared in the demonſtration of ſuch an evident fact, I hope it will meet with no forcible oppoſition. It is too plain to need further comment, in the ſame manner as the brightneſs of the ſun wants no additional luſtre. If, then, my fellow-citizens reflect and admit that the Federal Government is the principal ſource from which their bleſſings flow, I truſt that their grateful hearts will admire and ſupport it with candour and firmneſs. Their honour, credit and intereſt are, indeed, deeply concerned in the performance of ſuch a natural and well choſen duty, becauſe it is the proper medium to promote and enjoy a conſtant and general unanimity, without which a Nation can cheriſh neither hope nor expectation.

8. If there be any abuſe in the Federal Government, it muſt be in its execution, and not Conſtitution. In one point of view

view we obſerve the principal rules, which were laid down as its baſis, in another the laws that agreeably to them or not may have been enacted. The Conſtitution is founded, by the wiſdom and conſent of the Nation at large; on the contrary, its execution is carried on by individuals entruſted with it. The great or ſmall capacity or patriotiſm of officers, can effect more or leſs important things, and cauſe equal variance. There is nothing exiſting in this world without ſome alloy of evil, and no law or Conſtitution can be ſo explicit and clear, as to prevent miſapplication or cavillings. Laws may be conſtitutionally enacted, and yet odious to the people. This inconvenience may as much originate in an extent of power, as an uſurpation of it. For the ſake of Republican credit, the adminiſtrators of Government ought not to be ſuppoſed guilty of the latter, but rather deemed more inclined to the former. When any delegated authority is exerciſed in a laconic manner, it ſtands in need of a definition, and very probable

probable the explanation will rather augment than diminiſh it. Such unpopular monopolies are commonly occaſioned by the natural ambition of man, and ¡alas! even Republicans do not appear exempted from it; for it actuates at the moment it is reprehended. It becomes then, the ſovereign authority of the Nation, prudently to correct the defects; and not deſtroy what is pure, ſalutary and neceſſary. The remedy conſiſts in explaining and defining all obſcure or equivocal meanings, if any ſhould appear in the Conſtitution, and ſelecting better officers for the important truſt repoſed in them. To a healthy perſon, phyſic is uſeleſs, if not pernicious. It often deſtroys that hale conſtitution, which it may be intended to preſerve. I remember to have ſeen in my travels a curious epitaph on a ſepulchral ſtone, the meaning of which was thus expreſſed: *I was well, and in order to be better, here I am laid.* Let the penetration of my Reader dwell for a moment on the ſaid motto, and by applying it to the preſent ſubject, he will eaſily conjecture

conjecture the dreadful convulſions, to which mankind would be expoſed by aboliſhing a good inſtitution for the ſake of the unworthineſs of its truſtees.

9. In order to preſerve Democracy from encroachment, or relaxation, it is found policy to diſplace at a certain legal time its officers. They never can be ſo worthy as to preclude others from being equal or even ſuperior to them. By this periodical change, every one is reſtored to his ſtation of a citizen, acquires a knowledge of himſelf, and renounces the natural preſumption of enjoying for life that ſeat, which, by the benevolence and confidence of his fellow-citizens, he has obtained. The officer is ſubject to the office and not the office to the officer. A ſincere Federaliſt cannot diſſemble this evident political truth, which enlightens his brethren in the ſame community on this important point, and as long as they remain active and ſcrupulous in the obſervance of it, they will ſee the pride of Ariſtocracy humbled, chimerical claims unnoticed,

unnoticed, and the purity of Democracy glorioufly purfued and held in reverence.

10. By fuch falutary meafures, ftatefmen are taught to govern, and the people encouraged to obey and fupport the laws. ¡ What a virtuous emulation will fuch a regular arrangement excite among every clafs of inhabitants towards the promotion of their profperity! It is not to the humane and private difpofition only that the beneficent influence of moderation extends itfelf, but even to general and political affairs. The rulers as well as the ruled are to be equally guided by it.

11. A good popular Government is averfe to compelling any other Nation by force to follow its fyftem. It wifhes only to be voluntarily loved and refpected by mankind. Its victorious power confifts in good example and not in martial apparatus. No enflaved people will ever tafte the fweets of virtuous Liberty, if they are not willing to be free. To offer them political inftruction on the diftinguifhing difcrimination between bondage and freedom, is a

uſeful and noble taſk; and to ſupport their valiant enterpriſes when they are determined to participate in the bleſſings of Liberty, is very generous; but to diſturb a Nation with war and pillage under the pretext of emancipation and happineſs, is in my opinion a declared Anarchy and Jacobinical tyranny. The Democracy of America was more cautious in its eſtabliſhment, than to procure partiſans after her independence. France willingly followed her paths, but *example*, and not *compulſion* was the cauſe of it. Virtue will ever find friends every where; and as long as a Nation ſtrictly practiſes it, ſhe will be admired, revered and followed in her glorious actions.

12. Had not modern politicians ſhewn a declared averſion to Federaliſm, (which title is ſynonimous to that of terreſtrial happineſs) my pen would have never been employed on the ſubject. I would not have interfered in any of the tranſactions of foreign Nations, nor tampered with the peculiar diſpoſitions of certain juntos;

but as every daſh of modern patriotiſm ſeems to introduce (in ſome reſpect) novelties without real improvement, I hope that the liberty I have taken on this ſcore will be conſidered in no other light than that of endeavouring to diſtinguiſh between *appearance*, and *reality*. If the French have ſincere friends who heartily wiſh them ſucceſs, I am one of the number. I applauded their cauſe, and encouraged others to follow their example in the early ſtage of their conteſt; yet all my attachments will never induce me to diſſemble what in my opinion appears to be inconſiſtent. As to my obſervations on the tricks and intrigues ſo frequent here among the Antifederal faction, I feel very little concern for their reſentment, and while I regard them as my brethren, I commiſerate their prejudices; for it is undoubtedly through want of moderation, that they follow ſuch a miſguided conduct, diſhonorable to their own character and injurious to the harmony of a Democratic Commonwealth.

13. I

13. I plainly foreſee that the contents of this Work will in ſeveral points diſpleaſe, and in others be acceptable to all parties. The variety of intereſting ſubjects which occaſionally came in my way, together with the ſtrict impartiality obſerved in their diſcuſſion, will probably account for this political phenomenon. I am conſcious, however, that my principal object in this Work was the diſcovery of Truth and the information of my Readers. My diſapprobation of ſome abuſes, originated from a pure deſire of amending them, and after a careful review of ancient and modern Governments, I confeſs th a the Federal ſyſtem juſtly and meritoriouſly claims my love, reſpect and ſupport. I long to ſee all men thoroughly acquainted with their Rights, and cautious in preſerving them, that none ſhould be excluded from their full enjoyment. Theſe are the tenets of a *moderate* politician which, it is expected, will not differ from thoſe of any ſenſible man, who profeſſes as ſincere an attachment to rational Liberty and Equality

as

as to the welfare of his country. With a ſtrict adherence to them I ſhall finally be permitted to obſerve, that while the citizens of the United States can be deemed happy, by having after a long and virtuous ſtruggle obtained from the Britiſh uſurpation their natural Dignity, Sovereignty, and Independence; their happineſs will undoubtedly increaſe for ever more, if with wiſdom and care they make it a conſtant practice of knowing how to completely enjoy the ineſtimable bleſſings of their glorious emancipation.

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FINIS.

THE *AUTHOR* TO HIS *ENEMIES*, IF HE HAS ANY.

IN the ſuppoſition that thou art my Enemy, in addreſſing thee, I mean to addreſs all thoſe of a ſimilar diſpoſition to thine; but firſt, I think it neceſſary to let thee know, that experience and misfortune have wrought upon me in ſuch a manner, that I dread nothing in this world but EVIL and TIME, the former as the offspring of remorſe and terror, and the latter as aiming every moment at the deſtruction of my exiſtence. By this, thou canſt eaſily perceive, that I am far from imploring thy mercy; and thy good, *rather than my own, is the* real *object of theſe laſt ſentiments. If, therefore, thou canſt bear ſober reflection, liſten with attention, and be aſſured I ſhall not admoniſh thee very long.*

MAN, whoever thou art, thy preſence is agreeable to me, notwithſtanding thy diſregard of

of my friendſhip. The freedom *of ſpeaking, writing and printing gave me the right of publiſhing this Work, and thee alſo that of judging, cenſuring and attacking it. We both are authoriſed to exerciſe our reſpective privileges by that SACRED EQUALITY, which gives the ſame chance to every human Being. While I own thy right, ¿ wilt thou diſpute mine? ¿ Is it on this ground that thou intendeſt to be my Enemy? If it is from thy Right, I claim protection, and if thou refuſeſt it, thy reſiſtance will make me victorious; if not, thou muſt be my friend in ſpite of thy prejudices. At any rate, if thou art my Enemy, it will be according to thy own will, and not to mine. I wiſh the whole ſtorm of thy rage may fall upon me alone, and while I ſuffer, my love will not depart from thee. ¡ My dear Brother! In enmity there can be no juſtice, no ſatisfaction, no happineſs. ¿ What art thou ſeeking, therefore, to gain by it? ¿ Is there any thing pleaſing to thy mind? If ſo, I ſhall rejoice at thy pleaſure, but reflect that Enmity is an enemy to its poſſeſſor, and corrodes the*

breaſt

breaſt which harbours it. It diſturbs thy peace, while it gives thee a momentary and chimerical enjoyment. No good can bring forth what is originally bad. Attach thyſelf to friendſhip, this being the ſafeſt companion to ſmooth the aſperities of a tranſitory life. Every virtue adorns it. It is a comfort to the mind, the ſoul of confidence, and an encouragement to the wonderful progreſs of human capacity. It is the main bond of Society, and, in a word, the offspring of private and public happineſs. ¿What would become of Man if diveſted of Friendſhip? ¡that kind conſoler of human affliction!

In theſe laconic ſentiments, thou canſt conceive the portrait of the man, who is the object of thy hatred, and who would do thee good if in his power. ¿Wilt thou deſpiſe theſe likewiſe, becauſe they flow from the bottom of his heart? I cannot ſuppoſe thy antipathy arrived to ſuch a degree. Reaſon cannot juſtify the abhorrence of reaſon. Hate my perſon if ſuch is thy pleaſure, but do not expect from me a ſimilar retaliation.

Anſwer

Anſwer my writings, and thy criticiſm (if juſt) will be thankfully received. Think of me what thou pleaſeſt, and, as for my part, I will always think and treat all mankind as my ſincere friends, be they really ſuch or not. FAREWELL.

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